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Labor Age

The National Monthly

"Yellow Dog" Real Silk

A Company Union Exposes Itself

What's This---Education?

1. Organization Begins at Birth
2. With The British
3. Brookwood Stuff That Counts

An Eye Witness on Vienna's Riots

Death Amid the Breakers

The Unknown Worker

To Working Women

Shall The Miners Fight Alone?

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The National Monthly

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

What's This--Education?

Does It Mean Anything to Us?



Textile Institute, Brookwood, 1927

SCHOOL days have come around again. Not merely for the maid in calico or her bashful barefoot beau, or the quick-stepping, high flying city youth. Workers are tackling the education of themselves. Their year of renewed work is also at hand.

"What's This—Education, anyway?" a worker may ask. What good is it doing for grown men and women? What good will it do for the Movement or for the workers as a whole? Recently one labor leader reflected this thought when he remarked that the "workers were too much educated already."

That is not the thought of the American Federation of Labor. That is not the thought of any leader or union member who looks about him at this hour. Education is the chief hope of the modern Labor Movement; education of the right sort. Education that will equip us to

beat the employers at their own game is the crying need of this year 1927.

Brother Muste, the outstanding exponent of practical workers' education, gives us food for thought that should be taken home. It should be applied in action. Calverton acquaints us in part with what our British brothers are seeking to do and have done. Miss Cook draws our attention to an ever-more important phase of our education—the summer institutes at Brookwood. We hope to see these soon increased by an Iron and Steel Institute and other like industrial studies.

"This thing education" is the great right arm that will aid us to smash anti-union Employerdom. It will inform us of where to strike our blows and how to strike them. It will lead us to see the line-up of our enemies, in order that we can form our own battle-lines upon an effective basis. "This thing education" is the big thing—properly carried out and applied to our problems.

Organization Begins at Birth

Continuing the Brookwood Pages

By A. J. MUSTE

THE business of bringing up babies, nursery schools, kindergartens, seems to have no connection with the problem of organizing the unorganized, but appearances are sometimes deceiving. The learned folks tell us that the surroundings in which a person is brought up, the education that is given him, have almost everything to do with what he turns out to be. If this is so, then from a labor standpoint there would seem to be something pretty radically wrong with the environment with which our children are being brought up and the education that is being administered to them. If the public schools were consistently training young citizens utterly indifferent to their country or even hostile to it, those who support the schools would certainly think there was something wrong. But it is a fact that when young people today grow up and go to work, it is necessary to get them by the neck and drag them along in order to get them into the union of their craft or trade, whereas if they had been properly brought up, it ought to be impossible to keep them out of the union. Surely, there is something radically wrong with home and school influences which lead to such a result.

The labor movement is setting itself an impossible task if it tries to organize workers who are rendered unorganizable by what home and school have done for them. The problem of organizing is immediately bound up with that of education and not only adult workers education but the education of children and young people in the home, the nursery, the kindergarten, the public school, the high school, the neighborhood.

There are many different ways in which we might approach the problem we have here raised. On this occasion I want to discuss not the question of educational method, not primarily how we are to achieve the result we desire, but the question of aim and purposes—what kind of human beings do we want to develop? What are the qualities which as labor people we want to bring out in folks?

Bertrand Russell, who in addition to being such a learned mathematician that there are only about a dozen men like Einstein who can understand him when he gets to talking about figures, is also a philosopher, a student of society, a member of one of the most famous old families of England, a pro-labor man, the husband of one wife and the father of two young children, has recently written a book on education, and in one of the chapters names four qualities which he thinks he would like to see developed in people, and they may serve us as an illustration, though we do not follow Bertrand Russell very closely in what we have to say about them. The four qualities he names are Vitality, Courage, Sensitiveness and Intelligence.

Vitality means first of all vigor, strength, but it is not a purely physical quality, not mere brute strength, as we

say. We think of a person as having vitality if he is wide awake, interested in what is going on about him, eager for new experiences, if he stands for something and is not utterly colorless, if he works at something with eagerness and application. There are people of twenty who have not any vitality and people of eighty who have.

Courage may be physical courage or moral courage. Some people have physical courage but utterly lack moral courage; the nerve, for example, to do what is unpopular with the crowd they associate with. When Governor Fuller ruled against Sacco and Vanzetti recently, he displayed courage of a sort: there probably was some danger that some individual with an unbalanced mind might waylay him and try to take his life. On the other hand, courage to stand by himself, to risk being broken politically, being made an outcast from his own social group, he apparently did not have. This is, however, the most precious kind of courage, the courage displayed by all those whom mankind worships as its heroes when they are dead even though it would have nothing to do with them in their life time.

I once heard a woman standing beside Niagara Falls say "I don't see what everybody gets so excited about; after all, it's only water running over rocks." Beethoven's music is noise to some people; others are transported to Heaven by it. Some people don't notice a poorly designed building; others are acutely pained by the sight of it. Thus, some people are sensitive, they feel keenly and truly; others are insensitive. To illustrate from another field. Many people who could not bear to inflict the slightest hurt on one of their own children or acquaintances don't hesitate to torture little children or their mothers in factories and can read with perfect unconcern about pickets being beaten up in a strike or about the marines killing "damn foreigners" in Nicaragua or China. They are just not sensitive enough to feel suffering when it happens to people who are far away in space or who belong to another class or social group.

Intelligence does not mean having a lot of information. When people no longer want to learn, they don't learn. It has been demonstrated on the other hand that fearful handicaps can be overcome by people who do want to know. For another thing, intelligence is bound up with independence. It means being able and eager to think things through for yourself and not passively accept some one else's word for it.

Now, when we stop to consider, we realize that most young children are endowed with a goodly share of all these qualities. They are very much alive, awake, full of restless energy; they seem to be quite fearless except when grown-ups instill fears of the dark or of thunder or of the bogey man into them; they are sensitive and they are full of curiosity, infinitely eager to explore

every corner of their world, to take things apart and see what makes them go.

Also, when we stop to consider, we realize that if grown-ups had these qualities they would be mighty good material for the labor movement and they would certainly not fall under the spell of company union, anti-shop, high tariff, militarism and other bunk.

Alas, they do fall under the spell. Why? Because much of our education in home and school and elsewhere is designed to stamp out the very qualities we have been describing and to instill their opposites. From the very start, for example, we are apt to stifle and thwart the vitality of children: they must not be noisy, they must not run about freely, they must sit at straight desks nailed to the floor, in straight rows, and they grow up into men and women who can work submissively at straight rows of machines in great factories, and live in straight rows of tenement houses and march in straight rows of soldiers and vote like so many machines for the grand old party.

Athletic bodies we want our children to have; it is a religion with us; but courage to be different, to think for oneself, to defy convention and authority in the name of truth, justice, mercy, how little do we educate for that? What effort is there for the most part as yet to develop the artistic abilities in children, to encourage them to create things of use and beauty, freely, spontaneously? And why indeed should such an effort be made if we are content with a regime of mass production without any reservation? If mass production in huge factories for automobiles, sewing machines, pins, canned goods and antique furniture, why not also mass production of children, fitted to a single pattern in educational factories? As for the developing of such qualities as curiosity and independence of judgment, which are necessary for intelligence, where in our school system in general do we make provision for this? At home, the child's curiosity often meets with the petulant cry from parents "Don't bother me with so many questions" and in many schools the boy who asks serious questions is regarded as queer. When a young college student working last summer in the Studebaker plants in order to get "industrial experience", ventured a suggestion to the foreman, he was told "When you were in school you did as the teacher told you; when you were in the army you did as the captain told you; when you are in this factory you do as the foreman tells you; we'll do the thinking for you; your business is to produce." That foreman "said a mouthful". He uttered a complete philosophy of education. School with us is chiefly a matter of being and believing what the teacher tells us, as for that matter much of our home life means for children doing and believing what father and mother tell them. Such training results automatically, surely, in soldiers who do as the captain tells them; in citizens who do as custom, public opinion and poisonous propaganda tell them; in workers who do as the boss tells them, in church, in lodge, in politics, in the shop, in every sphere of life.

In conclusion, space permits us to make only a few

suggestions as to what we may do to produce the kind of workers who will naturally grow up into the labor movement instead of running away from it and who may be trusted to develop the kind of movement that is now in great measure lacking.

1. Let parents train their children as if they were human beings in the process of development and not as household pets, or nuisances, or punching bags, or half-wits, who must not by any chance be trusted to stand on their own feet and to have ideas of their own.

2. Push the organization of the teachers of the country into unions affiliated with the organized labor movement. Teachers who know nothing about the labor movement except perhaps a lot of things that are not so, who don't dare to organize for the defense of their own rights, are not likely to bring up children who will be of any use to labor.

3. Favor decent salaries for teachers. Teachers living on starvation wages and contented to work for a school system that pays them such wages, are likely to bring up children who will accept starvation wages from the industrial system.

4. Having provided adequate pay and decent working conditions, insist on a much higher standard for teachers than most schools have at the present time. Few business enterprises would tolerate the kind of workmanship that prevails in the schools. Few people of means incidentally are seen to permit their children to go to the public schools.

5. In general, labor should favor spending large sums of money on schools and oppose any tendency to cut down on school expenditures. There are all sorts of good reasons for this. So long as our rulers spend billions on battle ships, labor may well shout for more millions for education. There is a tendency to take the money for the support of schools more and more from the rich while it is the children of the poor who go to these schools, and it is sound labor policy to increase the "free income" of the workers by making the privileged groups pay out indirectly for better schools for working children the money they do not pay the worker directly in wages.

6. Stop the craze for big school buildings. No one nowadays wants to bring up his children in a huge factory or mill, but huge, queer, noisy factories is what these immense school buildings are to children.

7. Ninety per cent of the desks ought to be taken out of school rooms. A desk nailed to the floor stands for a child nailed to a desk, nailed to a fixed, arbitrary pattern for life. All movements such as the Workers Nursery School Association, Manumit School, Pioneer Youth, that have for their object the development of experimental education, an education that aims to develop not automata but independent, critical, free-minded, joyous, unafraid children, ought to have the support of labor, and labor should insist that as rapidly as possible the methods developed by these agencies that have proved their worth, be adopted by the public schools.

Labor Education In England

By V. F. CALVERTON

IN a country in which "labor" is part of the common vernacular, and in which there is a standing unemployment of over one million and a quarter workers, the problem of labor education has a significance that it seldom attains in America. The labor situation is grave. The dole system, by which the unemployed are given a pittance to avoid starvation, is ineffective. Begging is rife. London is crowded with men, women, and girls selling matches and other trifles in a vain endeavor to eke out a livelihood. Unrest is everywhere intense. In the proletarian district on the south side of London, where I have been living, the sentiment of protest is spirited and acrimonious. In the business districts the unemployed turn to almost any device in order to earn a stray penny or occasional shilling. Along Shaftesbury Avenue, and on Charing Cross Road, I found men standing in the middle of the street, amid the bewildering race and whirl of traffic, pirouetting on their hands, and then balancing their heads on bottles in the manner of an amateur acrobat, all in an attempt to attract an audience from which they could raise a little money for their next meal.

These introductory remarks about the economic situation in general, it will soon be seen, have a direct relation to the matter of labor education and working-class institutions. The present Anti-Trade Union Bill which has already been passed in the House of Commons and at the present time is under debate in the House of Lords, has aroused terrific opposition among the working-classes. Of course, difficulties, splits, and dissensions among certain of the unions have weakened somewhat the labor offensive. The General Strike of last year has still left its effect upon the finances of the unions.

A Recent Difficulty

The recent dispute about the London Labor College, for example, arose from the financial difficulties in the N. U. R. (National Union of Railwaymen) that were originally created by the General Strike. The London Labor College, the only resident labor college in England with the exception of Ruskin College at Oxford, was really organized and still is governed by two unions: the Railwaymen and the Miners. No other unions are represented on its board of governors. At the present time, for instance, among its twenty students, all are members of either of these two unions, with the exception of two students, one of whom is a delegate from the Upholsterers' Union. The recent attempt to "smash" the London Labor College has several subtle and devious origins. The external reason, however, was definitely economic. J. M. Thomas, the well-known labor leader, who is ordinarily a great power in the N. U. R., defended a motion to withdraw the financial support of the Union from the London Labor College. The passage of this motion was equivalent to destroying the College. Without the financial assistance of the Railway men, the College could not continue. Fortunately

for the College Thomas was rebuked by a sharp vote in favor of continuation of support for the institution. Thomas had based his argument upon the fact that the funds of the N. U. R. had been so seriously consumed by the General Strike that the Union really could not afford to continue its support of the College. In reality it was an attempt on the part of Thomas to destroy the institution.

The London Labor College, founded in 1909 under the title of the Central Labor College, is now affiliated with the National Council of Labor Colleges. It is important to distinguish its approach from that of the Ruskin Labor College at Oxford. Ruskin College aspires to the impartial outlook. While labor in sympathy, it refuses to take a radical stand. The London Labor College, on the other hand, takes a definite radical position. It is Marxist in its entire approach. While not connected with any political party, the college is emphatically *left* in spirit. The purpose of the college is clearly stated in its foreword:

"In general the aim is to turn out well-informed organizers and propagandists to assist in the educational, industrial, and political work of the Labor Movement."

The Labor College

The London Labor College is smaller in capacity than Brookwood Labor College. At maximum it can only handle thirty-six students; at the present time it only has twenty students on its rolls. Its courses have a wide, effective range and continuity. The curriculum is attractively diversified. There is a course in Method, the Science of Understanding, which undertakes an analysis of the Nature of Thought, Nature of Things, and includes a fairly extensive study of the dialectical philosophy of Dietzgen in relationship to the work of Marx and Engels. There are other courses in Historical Materialism, History of Socialism in England, Industrial History of England, Industrial Revolution, Economics, Economic Geography, History of Philosophy, and Literature. The work at the College covers a period of two years. The candidate for entrance, or for scholarship examinations, must have had two years continuous membership in his Trade Union, must give evidence of having had an elementary education, and he must promise to "place his services at the disposal of either his own organization or of the General Labor Movement, on the termination of his residence at the College."

It is the National Council of Labor Colleges, nevertheless, that has made labor education in England a widespread, growing, significant thing. This Council, of which J. P. M. Millar is General Secretary and A. A. Purcell is the Honorary President, is representative of Independent Working Class Education in England. It reveals something of the successful fight for unity in the British Labor Movement. The English Bourgeoisie has attempted to thwart labor education by the same method that is being employed in the United States,

namely by the Adult Education Movement. In 1921 £17,500 was to be given every year for adult education. Today over £52,000 is expended annually. This National Council of Labor Colleges, as an integral part of the British labor movement, has steadily and successfully fought this insidious type of adult education.

Thousands of Courses

The N. C. L. C. has more Trade Union Educational schemes than have all the other working class organizations in the country. In 1923 there were only nine unions affiliated with the N. C. L. C.; in 1926 there were thirty-five. The N. C. L. C. arranges "Educational Schemes" for the unions, and with the smaller trade union branches, trades councils and the like, it has mapped out thousands of programs and courses. In 1926, for instance it had organized 153 District Labor Colleges. These colleges, of course, are not to be confused with the London Labor College; these colleges are part-time, course-arrangement affairs. The London Labor College is a whole-time, resident institution. The N. C. L. C., in addition, has a Correspondence Course Department which had enrolled in 1926 1,459 students. Tutors are trained by the N. C. L. C. for the work that

it is their task to perform. A regular National Training Centre for Tutors has already been organized. This is naturally part of the important attempt of the workingclass to get its teachers out of its own group instead of depending upon other social classes for its instructors.

Radical

The N. C. L. C. is as definitely radical in its approach as the London Labor College. In fact, the London Labor College is but one of the branches affiliated with its work. In the curriculum of the N. C. L. C. are over thirty subjects; among the more curious, from the point of view of American workingclass education, are: Esperanto, Evolution, History of the Family, Marxism, Psychology, Theory of History, Bourgeois and Marxian Economics, Literature and Social Conditions. To be sure, there is the expected range of trade union topics which must be the principal background of a sound, workingclass educational program.

Altogether there is a unity of attitude in this problem of proletarian education in England that is at once inspiring and significant. It is an education that fortifies the labor movement for the great task that confronts it in the future.

Brookwood Stuff That Counts

By CARA COOK

For three years now Brookwood Labor College has conducted summer institutes, three or four weeks when trade unionists may gather for lectures and discussions on their particular industries, with a vacation thrown in. From July 17-23 this summer the United Textile Workers of America held an institute, with 52 members present. From July 24-30 an institute was held under the auspices of the educational department of the women's auxiliary of the International Association of Machinists, with 25 members attending. Following these was a two weeks general labor institute, concerned chiefly with the building and transportation industries. The textile institute, the largest ever held, and the women's institute, the first of its kind, are described in the following article.

I. THE TEXTILE INSTITUTE

WAY up in this small Maine town with its two water power, woolen mills, relics of the rapidly vanishing New England textile industry, and the few hundred employes who look blank when you say "trade union", it is difficult to recall the enthusiasm and scientific attitude which marked the week's institute held at Brookwood under the auspices of the United Textile Workers. The superintendent of these mills would regard as plain "cur'ous" the gathering of a group of his employes to discuss the problems

of their plant in particular and their industry in general.

Fifty-two members of the U. T. W., including the national officers, the executive council, eight organizers and 35 rank and file members, did exactly that, however, and at the end of the week pronounced it a howling success. (The "howling" applied equally well to arguments which at times waxed warm, to shouts which greeted the sallies of their impromptu minstrel show, and to duckings administered on the daily swimming trips.)

Members of the institute came from 19 industrial centers in seven different states as widely separated as Maine and Wisconsin, and from seven branches of the industry—hosiery, sheeting, woollens, cottons, silks, thread and loom fixing.

The usual speeches were made:

"Labor is definitely interested in and needs to know as much about the business and management end of industry as the boss does, and in most cases a good deal more."

"The workers have a legitimate interest in the problem of capitalization and dividend payments. With increased organization, labor can enforce regulations on the industry and so influence the conduct of business."

"There is something wrong with the textile tariff; it is unscientific and inconsistent. Labor favors a revision; organization will make such revision possible."

But back of these there was a constant give and take of really informative detail, a thoughtful probing of factors and causes. For instance, in discussing overdevelopment:

Run as it is in many separate concerns, the textile in-

dustry is beset with ruinous competition, duplication of equipment and wasteful production. Modern machinery has been introduced, but old machinery, instead of being junked, has been turned over to small, independent concerns which, starting with low equipment costs, are soon competing in the market.

Some sort of trustification in the industry seems desirable, the discussion finally brought out—a general agreement as to investment policy and market control. But in order to insure and advance its interests, labor must develop strength sufficient to impose its demands upon such combinations.

The tariff was thoroughly dissected:

"We must face the fact that the textile industry has been protected for a century and a quarter and has not yet grown up to an adequate efficiency. We can hardly conclude that it is not a suitable industry for the United States. Neither can we conclude that it is any longer an infant. There must, therefore, be something wrong with the tariff machinery or its operations," was the gist of the argument on this.

The chief difficulty, it seemed, is the illogical policy which protects inefficient or insignificant industries at the expense of the vast mass of consumers, selfish interests supporting each others' tariff measures in order to get their own supported.

"With the ultimate end of free trade in mind, there should be some tariff revision that will strip inefficient manufacturers of the protection now accorded their shiftlessness and incompetence. It should also penalize countries that temporarily get low labor cost by gross exploitation. There is no reason, however, for protection against countries that bring labor standards up to the American level," was the consensus on this.

President McMahon contributed to this discussion when he told of his trip to British textile centers. Again and again he met the plea, "Take down your tariff wall," to which he replied, "What guarantee can you give that your labor standards will then come up to those in America; must our workers come down to your level?"

"No haste, no waste" seems to be the slogan in British industry, he said. The workers are not speeded up by any such efficiency measures as are practiced in America, and they seem less restless and more contented with their conditions. Union bargaining power is much greater, and the workers are better able to meet employers on equal grounds when it comes to technical and business questions.

The week's discussion is perhaps summed up in the following:

"Much has been said about cooperation with the fair employer for the betterment of production. To what does this talk lead? Does it mean that industry can be brought to a basis of brotherly cooperation between capital and labor? Hardly. Fair employers are not typical, nor will they become so; as fast as Labor gains its demands, its ideas of what is fair will expand, and the attempt to bargain collectively on more and more matters instead of leading to agreement and peace will tend to raise more issues for combat.

"Labor began by making demands as to wages and hours. It went on to make demands as to shop conditions. Now it is beginning to interest itself in the busi-

ness end. Labor will go on extending its voice and control. It is up to Labor to apply science to the textile industry."

As if all these discussions were not enough, five outside speakers were imported for evening lectures, ranging in subject from race relationships to the organization of women. George Soule of the Labor Bureau talked on Prosperity, pointing out that the big problem today is to increase the consumers' purchasing power to meet the production capacity of modern industry.

"Jim" Maurer also talked about prosperity, about organization, workers education, industrial unionism and company unionism; there wasn't much he didn't talk about.

"If we don't organize the unorganized, somebody else will," he said. "Get them into the unions, regardless of their crafts; departmentalizing can come later."

He made a plea for vision and enthusiasm in the union movement, which in America is too prone to see only immediate ends, and where comparatively prosperous conditions make organization especially difficult.

And then, by request, Jim talked Pennsylvania Dutch to the group, and told his story about the fire department chief. A good time was had by all!

II. WORKING WIVES DISCUSS THEIR CASE

If, as we indicated at the beginning, your Maine mill manager would be surprised to see a group of workers studying their own industry, he would be dumbfounded to look in on the second institute held at Brookwood this year and listen to a group of workers' wives attempting to determine their relation to and function in the labor movement.

He would have found some 25 women, members of seven different union auxiliaries, coming from seven states and Canada, discussing such outlandish questions as how the presence of women in industry affects the wages of men; how union auxiliaries can aid workers' education; how electricity can save time and money in the home; how you can bring up a child in the "union way"; how you should conduct a union meeting, keep minutes and make reports.

He would have found a machinist's wife from Ontario, where they pay three and one-half cents per kilowatt-hour for electricity and every home is equipped with modern electrical conveniences, arguing with a typographer's wife who lives near New York and pays a ten cent rate, that the question of public versus private ownership of electric power is just as vital to her as the possession of a good cookstove—indeed, that she might own an electric stove under a system of public ownership of power.

He would have heard Dean A. J. Muste explain the idea of the institute, "To take up the problems of auxiliary members from an educational rather than a political point of view; to discuss the worker's wife as a housekeeper, mother and trade unionist," and Mrs. Grace B. Kleug, director of the educational department, following him up by saying:

"For years women's auxiliaries have been barking up the wrong tree. The old, stereotyped, parliamentary, tea-drinking, floor-marching, convention-singing type of organization is going out of style. We want to know what

END OF THE COOLIDGEAN MYTH

A MYTH—that good book, Webster's dictionary, sayeth—is “a person or thing existing only in the imagination”. Such a definition fits exactly the sad case of one Calvin Coolidge of New England.

The Little Lackwit of the White House has never been what he seemed. Or rather, what he was made out to be. With the connivance of the press, the land re-echoed in praise of his profundity and wisdom. Profound he was, but profoundly stupid. Wise he was, with the wisdom of a ward heeler.

The index of his ability was shown in his meagre income, which was paraded before the country as though it were a virtue. The “poverty” of a La Follette was to his credit. For the Wisconsin lion fought every selfish economic interest, and his small pocketbook was a sign that he had never compromised with his foes. The “poverty” of Calvin Coolidge was to his discredit. For he had served every selfish economic interest, and they thought him of such cheap value that they would not hire him for the bigger jobs which brought bigger fees.

Everyone in Washington knew that Cal was but the office boy of Andrew Mellon. In all his acts, the hand was the hand of Coolidge, but the brain was the brain of Mellon. That is, the brain of Wall Street.

Now, it has all come out at last. Stupidity can be clothed in solemn robes and palmed off as Wisdom—for a time. In the end the imposture comes into the light. Cal's mistake (tell it in whispers) was in talking over the radio. A guy with a voice like that could never be a great man, quoth the folks back home. That nasal twang had no clarion call of the new Messiah, which Calvin had been touted up to be. The secret of his silence was found out. It was the silence of having nothing worth while to say. “Praise not a man before he speaketh,” says the Bible, “for this is the trial of men.”

The *coup de grace*, however, came from his own publicity hounds. When Calvin was inveigled to appear in the movies all dressed up as a cowboy, the chuckling began. Finally the roars of laughter reached Rapid City itself.

As silent as the nothingness of Coolidge came the revolt against him. From the beer-demanding hills of Pennsylvania to the dry-as-dust plains of Iowa, they slew his champions. His own party turned against him and the mighty Mellon. The rejection does not mean much, in itself. But workingmen all over America, relieved of the senseless fear which caused many of them to vote for Cal, can now rejoice that one strikebreaker is demolished. Oh, that the same might be said of his fellow-reactionary, the Empty Windbag—Dawes!

women can do to make this a better world for themselves, their children and their trade union husbands.”

The earnestness of these women was manifested again and again by the question, “Well, what can we do; how shall we go about it?” The answers, it was agreed, depend on local situations, but in general these suggestions were made:

“Develop common interests with the men, but beware of union politics. Develop joint activities with auxiliaries of other unions. Preach the gospel of unionism in other women's groups. Build loyalty by actual service to individuals and families in special need. Don't neglect the social side; many a woman will come for a cup of coffee and stay to listen to union economics. Above all, plan educational work.”

Norman Thomas of the League for Industrial Democracy, put the problem of the women as homemakers:

“The instinct that makes women think in terms of their own families, can be expanded to make them think in terms of the great human family and its betterment. For instance, in the matter of war and peace, women who want to protect their children must help to set in motion forces that will check war tendencies; they must learn to ask questions that will puncture militaristic bubbles.

“Moreover, if a mother is indifferent to or ignorant of her husband's union activities, her children get the wrong impressions. We must hold our children to the labor movement; if they don't get the right start in the

home, they can't be depended upon to be loyal to the cause of unionism.

“The union,” he concluded, “must enlist the family as a whole, and meet its needs not only in the economic but in the social and recreational lines. The support of the men is not enough; the women and children must be equally intelligent and enthusiastic about the cause of labor. Men will respect women's organizations in proportion as they prove really useful.”

Sandwiched in between these sessions also were lecturers—Rose Schneiderman, Fannia M. Cohn, Fred Hewitt, editor of the *Machinists' Journal*. Theresa Wolfson informed the institute that there are at present only 18 auxiliaries with a membership of about 100,000. Jack Evans of Wales told about workers education in Great Britain, and Spencer Miller, Jr., of the movement in the United States. Mary Anderson, head of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, urged organization of women, a work in which “the men must help, not because women are women, but because they are part of the available labor supply and are a competitive factor in the labor market.”

Meanwhile all “spare” time was used for auto trips around the country, to Manumit School for workers' children, and for swimming parties. Who said workers' wives had no pep! (And although no official statistics were compiled, it was generally agreed that the average weight of the auxiliary members was about 210 pounds!) Literally, as they said, the institute was a huge success.

Evolution of the Flunky

From Clerk to Manager

By EDWARD FALKOWSKI

I. Chain Store Chains

FEW towns are without their sprinkling of yellow or red-fronted chain stores. These store corporations have expanded from a small handful of unknown grocery concerns, to enormous corporations still growing mightily. Their expansion, and economic methods of distribution, enable them to undersell the old reliable grocery man who was the one chamber of commerce in the old town. A stir and bustle replaces the pokish casualness of the chin-whiskered gossip who had the "dope" on all the local doings, and re-tailed information with his products.

Swift go-getters invade slumberish communities. Even in coal towns where buying on credit is universal, these cash stores settle, and are able to expand. Some anthracite towns are dotted with chain stores; even rural villages have their chain store with their gas station, and post office.

Hustling managers drive through these towns on sleek cars, magically getting accounts, ledgers, etc. — sacred scriptures of business turnover. While for high school boys, and pseudo-educated fellows just breaking through the shell of a college life, here is the world of growing opportunity. The top is pictured as a specious roof-garden where faithful servants smoke contented cigars, and talk of pioneer days when they swept floors better than other boys and gave up the movies to invest spare pennies in the stocks of their firm.

With stores sprouting over the country, each store becomes a recruiting station for ambitious youths. Daily, fresh-shaven chaps seek out the manager who studies them with shrewd eye, and probably puts them on trial for a week or two—either at clerking, or at doing the more menial tasks that must be done around each store.

Low wages and long hours greet the aspirant as he takes off his coat, and puts on the soda-dispenser's smock of the chain store flunky. He must cultivate an oily tone of voice, a sleek approach to customers, an accurate memory for locating ketchup and tuna fish, and oyster-shells; he must add rapidly, and when not putting these talents to use, must apply himself at the handle end of a broom, and sweep the rotten lemons, squashed canteloupes, mushy onions and crushed prunes, and papers that litter the floor at the end of a day's work.

Nor must he look at the clock. To be a time-server is to betray oneself as one who merely flirts with the job for financial ends. The chain stores do not desire such employees. The man serving this corporation must despise time, as well as money. His highest ambition must be to rise in the world of chain stores, and become a manager. In that upper world great figures walk, smooth-coated, and able to broadcast the sweetest imbecilities to the public that lines up at the buying end of the counter, and sends the clerks about in little panics,

searching for the vanished orange extract, or the small size of cocoa.

II. The Spur of Ambition

Weekly rumors float through clerk's ears of humble gawks who have suddenly risen to the eminence of managership. The overworked fellows tremble with anticipation as the immovable clock binds them to their posts.

Ambitious germs ferment immense desires within them. Each sees himself caught in that magic web through whose tanglements one emerges at last, blessed with position and future. But as day trails on day, they listen to the mixed public's desires for coffee, or mustard, their shoes becoming thinner, and their purses not taking on flesh. Ambition is flaunted much like the straw before the stubborn donkey. Prospects dangle in front of one's nose. But they never get any closer.

Each chain store emits its success-gush in a monthly pamphlet with some name suggesting boisterous confidence. Smug faces of great managers stare fish-eyed out of patriotic embellishments. The determined jut of chin, the tight lip, the jam-advertising smile, the soapy high-pressure countenance, are featured, with comment running through columns. Inspiration blows through these organs which thrive on scoops of unbelievable successes. Sweated clerks, after a hard day's toil, can ponder the evening away on themes suggested by these exhilarating breeders of pep.

III. What Price Ambition?

The two big chain store corporations in the eastern states are the A. & P. Stores Co. and the American Stores Co. The A. & P. has been much longer in the game. They claim almost ten times the number of stores that the American has. The American Chain Stores Co., numbers almost 23,000 stores—almost a total of 150,000 employees. Of this number, 23,000 are necessarily on the managing end, since each store has its manager. Above these managers tower a hierarchy of officials encased in elaborate offices whence they regulate the works, and hold their tremendous fingers on the business.

The youth of the Chain Stores Co. appeals to the young man. It is presented as opportunity's gold itself. The vast profits made by these stores are turned into more stores, which give rise to the need for more managers, which is the competent man's chance of becoming more than a mere wage slave.

To a degree, this is true. The corporation is growing into new stores, and new managers are being placed. But what percentage of men employed become managers, and what does it mean to be a manager?

Usually the ambitious person starting at bottom to evolve upward, may get as high as \$18 a week, for which he is obliged to toil nine hours or more per day, and

any number of hours on Saturdays when these stores keep open till the last customer.

If the clerk is "intelligent", and shows sufficient interest in the work, after a year, he may find himself advanced to the position of "second man", which means, a salary of twenty or twenty-five a week, and one-half per cent on the sales. As a full-fledged manager, he will receive one per cent of the sales moneys, in addition to his regular \$25—which, in the usual small store, may bring his salary up to \$35 a week. Usually, however, it is something below this figure.

For this, the manager assumes responsibility for the store. He must push sales, must extract efficiency from a mixed force, must coax the public into buying needless articles, must face the "music" of enraged inspectors who snoop about the place at all hours; must put in his ten hours a day, opening before eight of the morning, passing up his regular meals, and staying till the clerks are gone at night. While Saturdays mean twelve or fifteen-hour stretches for this envied person who has mounted the summit.

IV. Spirit of the White Collar

The men who drift into the time-books of these stores throw overboard every ounce of manhood to attain their future. Before eight in the morning they are already wrapped in their flunky-jackets, ready to trot about on errands for early customers. No virile curse, no giant discontents stir within them. Smiles accurate as their weighing out a pound of butter are printed on their fallow faces. Their soft hair is combed at rakish angle, and they drip sugared nothings to pretty faces that inquire about prices of hams or watermelons.

Their private conversation is of hunting dogs, of qualities of motor cars, and that trend of speculation that culminates in the admirable summing up—"She's some kid!"

Months of bumping one another doesn't melt the ice that keeps them separate on the job. In the flurry and rush of the store no time for intimate acquaintance can be found. Spare moments are spent in kidding, or in playing pranks on one another. But serious conversation does not enter this strangely superficial world of embryo managers.

The day is too long, as the clock toils wearily toward six P. M. when the store is to close. Few clerks do not feel the heavy stretching out of hours, as their shoes pace along the sawdust, and slide on banana skins. Yet when at last six o'clock does arrive, not a clerk will throw off his coat or wash his hands, and no one dares to quite feel he has done a good day's work! They linger about the manager, laughing at his empty jokes, playing the flunky, until ten or fifteen minutes pass, when the manager decides, in a casual way, to shut the store for the night. Incidentally, he tells the boys they "can go". Only then do they take off their servile garments, and slip out to the street.

V. Unionize the Clerks?

A sixty hour week is enough punishment for any one's ambitious impulses. On top of that, a pay that rarely reaches from week to week, and an honesty that ex-

poses a man to starvation while a bunch of bananas swings in front of his nose. An honesty ruthless in its reaction to the victim!

Five legal holidays in a year—and one of them is celebrated by taking inventory! If a holiday falls within summer time, when it is customary to observe Thursday afternoon as half-holiday, the Thursday half-holiday is sacrificed. For instance the American Stores gave their employees the Fourth of July off. But the boys had to work on Thursday afternoon while all the other stores in the town were closed! Hardly a dollar's worth of business was done all that afternoon—but the store was kept open, and the employees penalized for celebrating the occasion of the nation's independence! Chain stores indeed! When will the clerks celebrate their independence from these chains?

Thursday half holiday is only a summer-time observance. In the fall, the store goes back to the full week—for no reason whatsoever. The public can be very easily educated to recognizing Thursday as half holiday all the year round.

Conditions are so intolerable on the whole that only the best flunkys can survive. The turnover is as great as in the textile or steel industries. Every week new faces replace old ones. Fresh chaps come in, alive and eager to work hard. But chaps with vitality prefer more active and less oppressive fields of work. They do not want to be obliged to wear professional smiles, or praise stale hams (the mold of which has just been scraped off in the back room)—or take advantage of blind old women. They don't like the manager's constant eye, or the superintendent's hot-talk of "climbing"—rewards held out for the best flunky.

Since the most virile blood is always being drained off from the stores into more physical industries, what remains is the dregs—usually sickly, or weak, or thwarted types, who "don't mind" puttering about the odds and ends of the store.

It is interesting to speculate on the possibilities of organizing these men. Not only is their own attitude remote from organization, but the corporation itself is violently opposed to unionization, and stands ready to fire any one who even suggests unionism. One of the store managers once attended a Central Labor Union meeting. "If my firm knew I was here tonight," he said, "I would be off my job tomorrow."

The job-fear is universal. Every one who doesn't quit, or irritate the manager enough to get fired, lives in mortal dread of the "sack". Mean as their jobs are, long hours and miserable pay, they cling through thick and thin, climbing with pitiable persistence on that long trail toward. . . .

Yet the only effective power that will enable them to straighten their backs, and feel like men is the union. They will quit at quitting time and start at starting time, and not fear the eye of the boss. They will get decent hours, good pay, and a reasonable number of holidays only when they organize, and learn to do things for themselves. Of hard-pushed slaves who overlook the need of organization, and who need it most badly, we can place the store clerks somewhere near the head of the list.

An Eye Witness on Vienna's Riots

American Youth Tells of Workers' Revolt

By WALLACE ROGERS

Geneva, July 26, 1927.

Dear Mr. Hopkins:

NO doubt you read all about the General Strike over in Vienna. I didn't see the newspaper version of it, but I am sure they made a mess of it. I was right in the middle of the whole thing, shot at twice and chased all over the place. So perhaps I could tell you something about it.

About 9:30 on Friday morning July 15, I went out to see the Art Museum in the middle of Vienna. My brother Rob was working on a bust of Freud, so he didn't come with me. On the streets there seemed to be a sort of subdued murmuring among the crowds. Little groups of men were gathering on the corners, like clouds before a storm. As I was walking past the Parliament building the fun began. There was a ring of policemen around the Parliament and an immense crowd mocking and jeering them. The policemen tried to keep as calm as possible under the circumstances. The crowd kept getting more and more excited and I saw one mob-crazed woman repeatedly slapping a cop in the face. If the cop had weakened in his self-control and grabbed the woman the mob would have had an excuse and would have torn the little group of cops to pieces. The policemen represented the law and as the law had just done the people an injustice, the people decided to revenge themselves by attacking the agents of the law; i. e., the cops. There would have been many more policemen killed and perhaps all Vienna burned, if they hadn't handled the situation so well.

I never saw such an enormous crowd in all my life. They stretched down the streets as far as the eye could see. There must have been at least 150,000 people that surged about in mobs wrecking things. I went around a corner and there saw a cop get beaten to death by a blood-crazed mob. This poor old cop was down on his knees begging for his life. But you know what mob-spirit is. He was beaten down on the street and trampled on. When next I saw him through the many legs, he was nothing but a shapeless, inert mass with most of the clothes torn from his body.

Attack on the Camp

I have gleaned information here and there and will here attempt to give you the reasons for this riot! It seems that there was a perfectly peaceful camp of Communists out in the woods near Vienna. One day about three weeks ago, a crowd of Reactionaries, calling themselves Nationalists (polite name for Fascists), Aristocrats before the Revolution, went out in the woods and started target practice with rifles right near the Communists' camp. They shot very recklessly and a small party of Communists went out, unarmed, to protest.

The Nationalists, pretending they were attacked,

opened fire and killed two Communists and wounded three others.

The trial came up on Thursday, the 14th, and the Fascists Supreme Court judge of the so-called Socialistic Austria acquitted the Nationalists.

On Friday morning the 15th the news got out and the Communists and Socialists decided to make a demonstration to protest against the verdict and show the government the strength of their unions. It seems that they had done that several times before, but it had never gotten out of their control the way this one did.

To get back to the mobs, they were getting more and more unruly. They had tried to enter the Parliament building and had been repulsed by the police so that incensed them all the more. Woe betide the policeman they caught alone.

I was getting rather scared and started for home when, I saw another crowd standing around some inanimate object on the street. I elbowed my way to the middle and there before my eyes lay a gory battered form with its two gouged out eyes lying beside it on the street. (It had once been a policeman). I started for home as fast as I could go, but I had only gotten about half a block through the mobs when I was violently seized from behind and whirled around thus bringing me face to face with four great big guys with barrel staves as clubs. At the time I had on a white shirt and collar and was obviously not one of the crowd. A yelling group began to gather around me. God knows what might have happened, but by pure luck I had a Communist pin with me. So I pulled it out and waved it on high. They all shouted and let me go. My heart has not gotten back to beating normally yet. I could see myself lying there in the street and I didn't like the prospect.

I went back home and got Rob, and we went out on the street again. Not until I had changed my shirt and looked a little bit more of a proletarian, however.

Into the Flames

When we got back to the scenes of action the crowds had shifted over to the Court House. First they started bonfires in the street and then they got bolder and began to swarm through the windows and break down the doors. They threw desks, bookcases, waste baskets, telephones, documents, chairs, typewriters, everything out into the street where the mob seized upon them and threw them into the fires which had by this time caught the building.

Rob and I had drifted around to another corner when the first shooting began. I sure was scared. Right down the street came a line of cops with rifles on their shoulders. When they were about a hundred feet from the mob they, rushing their guns, and without any warning, fired point-blank into the mass of people? Did I run?

THE UNKNOWN WORKER

Thoughts on a Hero's Monument

MANY countries, our own included, have erected monuments to the Unknown Soldier. It is supposed to be a national shrine. Whenever potentates or important personages come to our shores, they feel it imperative that they pay tribute there. It is thought to be a way of remembering heroism and sacrifice.

For all we know, however, the unknown soldier who lies beneath the large tomb may have been an unwilling conscript. He may have gone into battle with bitterness in his heart. He may have seen no cause for the conflict; he may have felt violently against it. He may have been a coward, who feared the professionally-incited "public opinion" of war time more than he did his enslavement in conscription. His entire self-respect

and manhood may be buried in that tomb.

We would erect another monument. It would commemorate heroism as sublime as that shown on any battle-field. It would bear witness to a real fight for freedom. This monument would go up in the coal fields and among the textile mills and elsewhere to the man who first revolted against servility and for unionism. It would be dedicated to the Unknown Worker, who first looked his masters in the face, and said: "I will be a Man. I will be Free." To him, the unknown, who amid the fear of his fellows, by sheer courage stirred their spirits and won them to initial organization! That is the most splendid monument that could be erected. For it would deal with the memory of the free spirit, not the dead body of man.

Rob and I got separated in the flight and I didn't see him for about two hours. As I went running down the street a little guy next to me whipped out a bugle and started playing the Internationale. Several crowded around and started yelling, "Zusammen, Zusammen". So they all charged back at the police.

I went around on another corner from where the police with guns were and there was another crowd yelling and pushing back the fire-engines, keeping the firemen from getting at the by this time roaring blaze in the Court House. A troop of mounted police came charging down to disperse the mob. Their swords were out and flashing in the air and they were followed by a veritable hail of clubs, sticks and assorted stones ranging in size from pebble to paving bricks, all thrown by the people. I saw one cop knocked off his horse and stabbed with his own sword. I climbed up a telephone post to get a better view of the proceedings and there Rob saw me. About that time more shooting commenced and we thought it would be best to go home. So we legged it. We went over to the Hotel Regina where Miss Potter was staying and there we waited for nightfall. We went out again about nine o'clock but kept well out of the danger zone. The cops by this time had the situation pretty well in hand although there was an occasional shot and the streets were full of death wagons, ambulances and Black Marias. In one place on the street was a pool of blood and written on the wall in blood was "Rache ist Rache".

Getting Out

The next day I went over with Miss Potter to the house of Elizabeth Windesgratz, the grand daughter of Franz Joseph and now a socialist and a friend of Miss Potter. She told us it was best to get out of Vienna as soon as possible because there was a rumor of Hungarian soldiers coming. Besides I had already applied for a Russian visa and was with this T. F. Meade, a Communist, and as Communists were being daily arrested in the street it was best to get out.

All the trains had stopped running so the next day Miss Potter arranged with Thomas Cook and Son for an auto to take us to Salzburg. We stayed in Salzburg a

day, got German visas, and then Tom, Rob and I hit for Munich. Miss Potter went on to Geneva. We stayed in Munich a couple of days and then started for Geneva where Tom thought we could try again for our visas. On the train trip to Geneva, we had to go through a little neck of Austria. At Bregenz on the Bodensee we got on the wrong train and were taken out into the woods a little ways from Bregenz to a place called Tauterach where we were dumped off the train. Tauterach was so calm and peaceful we decided to stay a couple of days. We made a boat trip around the beautiful Bodensee and then our money ran out and we had to go down to Geneva where Miss Potter is. I started this letter in Geneva but I am finishing it here in Berlin. We found out there was no consulate in Geneva so we came here yesterday and got our visas started. At the Russian Consulate they tell us we will have to wait six weeks for a visa, but Tom has friends in Moscow whom he is writing to and we expect the visas in a week or ten days.

Berlin is about the worst place I've struck so far. The German middle class are an awful bunch to get along with.

It seems as though this place is more apt to have riots than Vienna. There are plain clothes men everywhere on the streets. Tom and I got off a third class car early yesterday morning. It had been a twenty hour trip from Geneva and we looked like a couple of bums. Tom hadn't shaved and I had no collar on. We had not gotten more than three blocks from the station when we were stopped by three detectives and asked for our papers. We showed our passes and went on. It makes me sore. These guys go around in crowds singling out the working men and those who don't look rich and questioning them. If a Communist falls into their hands it's all up.

I am not going to mail this letter until I get out in some little village somewhere. If I mailed it here it might be opened.

If you get time write me how things are going at the Chateau.

Cordially yours,
(Signed) WALLACE ROGERS.

MASSACHUSETTS MURDER

Our Courts Dip Their Hands in Blood

WHEN Sacco and Vanzetti went to their death our present judicial system went with them. It is only a matter of time until the vile cant dubbed the "law" will be overhauled or destroyed in these United States.

It is not with the opinions of these two men that we need deal. It is with the ominous fact that they died because they had opinions. American Injustice, in the person of the Massachusetts courts, dipped its hands in the blood of innocent victims, for the sole reason that they were heretics and agitators.

Most fittingly, the Brahmin class—which has fed and luxuriated on the backs of immigrant and native workers in New England for so many years—took part in the closing drama. President Lowell of Harvard subscribed his name to one of the weakest and most prejudiced statements ever issued by an "investigating" body.

Because so many men worship the daily press when they will heed no other agency, we quote from an editorial in the *ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH*:

CONSCIOUSNESS OF INNOCENCE

"Consciousness of guilt" was an important, perhaps the decisive, point in the conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for the Braintree murder. The phrase is Judge Thayer's. He used it in his instructions to the jury. The conduct of the men after their arrest, the lies they told, were dwelt upon at length. Other items of evidence, such as the identification of the men and the expert testimony of Capt. Proctor as to the bullet having been fired by Sacco's pistol, were competently contradicted by witnesses for the defense seemingly as responsible as the witnesses for the State.

But "consciousness of guilt"—here, indeed, was one of those "imponderables" which Bismarck declared to be the arbiters of destiny.

Did Sacco and Vanzetti ever offer any evidence in rebuttal to the "consciousness of guilt"? Necessarily this is a matter of opinion. But opinion may cite the stupendous fact that for seven years these men lived under the shadow of death with a fortitude that never deserted them. In their aeon of Gethsemane, through their intimate association with attorneys of such penetrating mentality as that of the brilliant Thompson, no word or gesture was observed to indicate their guilt.

They went to their death in that same resolute mood, a note of defiance in Sacco's valedictory, an impressive gallantry in Vanzetti's bearing, with a message of forgiveness that made the exit noble.

The law has spoken and good citizenship must accept it.

But in the hearts of men with a passion for justice the deportment of Sacco and Vanzetti will remain as a consciousness of innocence.

If any one of us had seen our comrade tortured—as Sacco and Vanzetti knew that Salsedo had

been by the Department of Justice—we also would lie when taken into custody. They thought they were being arrested as radicals; they little knew that they were to be charged later with murder.

The vital things are: That the files of the Department of Justice were NOT opened, though former agents testified that that foul office was responsible for the persecution. That Massachusetts DARED NOT grant a new trial, even in the face of Judge Thayer's manifest desire to be a murderer. That Governor Fuller DARED NOT commute their sentence to life imprisonment, pending further discovery of new light on the case. We can come to no other conclusion, obvious long ago, than that Massachusetts dared not let the world know how brutally its courts had erred.

We again quote from the daily press, a fitting moral from the Sacco-Vanzetti case and similar ones which are sure to follow in this period of darkness:

WHAT ABOUT THE COURTS?

When Legislatures pass laws nobody ever thinks of reserving criticism either of the laws or the law-makers. The suggestion that criticism of Congress is unpatriotic would be met by a unanimous guffaw.

When laws are being administered by courts, the person who wants to discuss this process critically is forced to face the charge that he is attacking the very vitals of the Nation.

It is only necessary to study the United States Supreme Court to understand that our judiciary is made up of very human men who have very human disagreements about law and justice.

With great regularity the ranks of the nine justices divide on the question of what is the law.

Judicial tribunals where disputes can be settled with finality are a vital part of our scheme of government. Otherwise there would be chaos. But because they are an important cog in our governmental machinery, is there any reason to believe the courts are not subject to the weakness of other human institutions?

And is there any reason why court procedure should not be discussed and criticised with the same freedom that Legislatures and executives are discussed?

Isn't it true that, in the ultimate analysis, judges are servants of the people? Is their service being performed as well and wisely as it might be? Is the judicial system keeping pace with the changes in our social and economic life?

Earnest discussion of these questions was never more in order than it is today.

That was taken from the Scripps-Howard papers. It is a mild statement of the case. "The law" is out of step. It can only be put right by defiance to all the mentally prostituted judges who sit upon our benches—Judge Thayers in duplicate, almost every one of them.

Internationally Speaking

A KNOTTY PUZZLE, AS IT WERE

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Chiang Kai Shek is the victim of looking two ways. He has been compelled to retire from leadership in the Nationalist movement.

That occasions the cartoon from the CHICAGO HERALD-EXAMINER, which we see here, the thought in which has been echoed by other papers. They think China a mystery. As if America's own long struggle for independence from Great Britain would not look messed up at close range, also!

In the China Seas, according to L'HUMANITE (Paris), a sailor in the shadow of the big guns asks, "Any news?" "Nothing," replies the other, "just some naval limitation talk at Geneva." And talk was all that Geneva brought forth, as we predicted.

While there was still hope for Sacco and Vanzetti, Flambo in THE NEW LEADER (London), asked, "Shall Justice Die?" The answer was given by Fuller and the Back Bay crowd, to their everlasting shame.

"Yellow Dog" Real Silk

A Company Union Exposes Itself

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

HYPOCRISY, like murder, will out. In this past month of August it has "outed" in a spectacularly vicious form in the mills of the Real Silk Company, in Indianapolis. It was only last April that I, a seeker after the "model" company union, presented myself at the office of this corporation. With effusion I was told by President J. A. Goodman and his personnel man Friday, Arthur Zinkin, that they had discovered the undiscoverable—a company organization that could satisfy their workers.

"No man has ever been discriminated against for union membership," quoth the voluble Goodman. "We simply do not need to think of that sort of thing here. Our workers are all protected by the E. M. B. A. It is something which can be found in no other plant in the country."

He then presented me with the Application for Employment, which workers sign upon entering the service of Real-Silkdom. With swelling pride he pointed to the phrase which heads that application. It reads as follows:

"The Employment Department of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills is operated by its employees. They have full power to employ as well as discharge."

My eyes opened in amazement at this Soviet-like pronouncement. Could the millenium be at hand? The Honorable Goodman assured me that it was, and that he was the usher-in of that golden era.

Further inquiry opened my eyes still wider. Interviews with 187 workers, secretly, revealed that the millenium-creator was in reality a close rival to Baron Munchausen and other noted fictionists. To call him a "liar" would be to put it mildly.

The accounts of his pretensions to having granted "self-government" to his workers and the cant involved in those pretensions have appeared in these pages from month to month. Now has the company and its creature, the company union, come forward themselves to prove further the accuracy of every charge made against their hypocrisy and humbuggery. The story runneth thus:

The Two Best Organizers

In July I came to Indianapolis secretly, to test out the "zeal" of the men of the full fashioned mill for the company organization. I found them 100 per cent discontented but also almost 100 per cent afraid. The fear of Goodman was in their hearts. By as rapid work as my two legs would allow, we enrolled 95 per cent in the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. No argument was required. The men were ready for the message, long before I came. The two best organizers we had were Messrs. Goodman and Zinkin. Their threats to the men and their driving tactics—put through by endless speeches to the working force—produced revolt. Under the pretense of teaching the men,

wages were kept down far below the union rate for the same production. Any information that might aid the men to go further in the knowledge of their machines was withheld from them. If they obtained any such information, it had to be bootlegged. The purpose of this refusal of information was to prevent the men from going to any other mill, where a full-fledged knitter would know how to handle his machine in its entirety.

In the course of time, as was inevitable, the company learned that organization was afoot. What was the first act of Goodman, Zinkin, et al—they who had proclaimed so widely that their working force was "self governing"? They compelled the men to sign that most depraved of anti-labor measures — the "yellow dog" contract. It bound the men not to join an outside organization during the "period of their training". When asked as to when this period would cease, Zinkin responded that that "was up to the superintendent." Thus was a return made to the old system of indentured labor, which disgraced the early days of this country. The Real Silk Mills became the Real Silk Penitentiary.

A Spy Product

The labor spy was called upon to play his part. Calling upon the MacDonald Industrial Detective Agency of Philadelphia, he got their cooperation in imposing "an air-tight" new "yellow dog" contract three days after the first had been signed. We present this contract for the edification of our readers, for the document speaks for itself. This is what the "self-governing" men, who had control of their own discharge, were made to sign on the dotted line:

Indianapolis, Ind.

August 18, 1927.

I am employed by, and work for, Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc., an Illinois corporation, at its mills in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., with the express understanding that I am not a member of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, of the Indianapolis local branch, or of any of its affiliated bodies or of any similar outside organization, and will not become so while an employee of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc.

I further understand and agree that the mill of Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc., at Indianapolis is run non-union and agrees with me that such mill will run non-union while I am in its employ.

I further agree that I will not enter into any agreement or advise any other employee to do so, the purpose of which shall be to induce or procure the employees of the Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc., or any of them, by concerted action, to quit the service of the said corporation in a body or at a given time, or in any way to interfere with the business of said corporation or hamper or obstruct it in the manufacture and sale of its products.

Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc., on its part, agrees that it

LABOR AGE

will provide the means to train me and its other employees, that it will not lock-out its employees in a body nor refuse to employ competent men willing to abide by the terms of this agreement nor discharge men wholly without cause, or otherwise violate any clause of this agreement.

If at any time while I am employed by Real Silk Hosiery Mills, Inc., I want to become connected with the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, their local Indianapolis branch or any of its affiliated organizations, I agree to withdraw from the employment of said company and I agree that while I am in the employ of that company I will not make any effort among its employees to bring about the unionization of its mills at Indianapolis against the company's wishes.

I have either read the above or heard the same read to me.

Every man was grilled by the management, and those who gave any hint that they had any union connections were compelled to send in a letter of resignation. This was done in violation of an express statute of the State of Indiana which makes it a misdemeanor for any employer to use any such tactics.

Peonage

When the above contract was shown to an eminent member of the Indianapolis bar, he exclaimed: "Why, this is an attempt at peonage. This man Goodman must be something of a fool."

Coincident with the presentation of the contract, four men were let out of the mill for alleged union activities.

The circumstances surrounding their dismissal throw a lurid light on Real Silk policy. Virgil Marshall, the first discharged, was accused, absolutely without foundation, with having ridden me around in his car! That was a heinous offense for a "self-governing" worker. As a matter of fact, it happened to be a falsehood made out of whole cloth. Leo Preishoff, departmental director on the night force, whose duty it was under the E. M. B. A. to represent the men in such cases, rushed to Marshall's defense. He was immediately discharged for making any such plea! Thus was the mask gradually withdrawn from the skeleton-and-cross bones company union. Fearing that discontent had gone further than it had imagined, the company decided to make an example of Edgar A. Ringold, departmental director of the men on the third floor. It suspected him of being too active, as he had been vigorous in behalf of the men for over a year. Robert D. Beame, of the night force, and Ringold received the same "punishment" as that meted out to Preishoff and Marshall.

Rubber Stamps

When demands were made that these men be given a full trial before the executive board of the E. M. B. A., Zinkin replied that "learners" were not included in the company union provision! This was such a raw contradiction of the promises set down specifically in the E. M. B. A. by-laws that it could not be "gotten away with." The so-called "learners" are required to pay dues under the company union, and come under all the provisions for alleged "protection" of the men. The trial, which had to be granted, was a farce. No specific charges were made, except against Marshall. No ex-

planation was given as to the reason for the company's action. The four members of the E. M. B. A. board, all from the seamless mill, by the way, registered as rubber stamps for the company. They had nothing to say; merely to vote for discharge.

When Marshall was let out, so great was the discontent that the men on the night force stood at their machines for fully five minutes, waiting for the signal to strike. The signal could not be given, as I was awaiting instructions from Philadelphia. These instructions, based on legal opinion on the contracts, could not reach me for a week. In that time, the company had broken down the morale of many of the men by a consistent policy of intimidation and falsehood.

The union still hoped to have the matter settled by amicable adjustment. But the hope proved a vain one. Real Silk was determined to continue hitting below the belt.

With these developments, the second stage of the fight against the fakery at Real Silk has come to an end. The first was, to examine into the extent of its fraudulent pretensions. The second was, to allow the company union to expose itself. Along with that, we have of course now shown that J. A. Goodman's middle name is Ananias. (According to his men, he has stooped so low as to intimate that the union officials had sold out to him. I hereby challenge him to print that statement, with a specific mention of names. Then he can be taken to account. Why hide, like a craven, behind the whispered word?)

Tell the World

The third stage is to tell the world of the conditions existing at Real Silk, and to arouse men and women of some social conscience to the necessity of crushing this serf-factory. The most pitiable thing about this company is, that in the heart of America a corporation of this type can strip every semblance of manhood from young men. Nothing was more touching than the fear that many of these fellows had when I first approached them. I did not have to argue unionism to them; I did not have to urge them to join—all I needed to do was to assure them that they would get as much protection as the union can reasonably give. Even in the face of that, the Good-manesque lash had a disheartening effect on some.

After the third stage will come a fourth. It will mean freedom in Real Silk. It will mean an end of cowardice there. It will be the prelude to the fall of good King Jacob I. We now know, from the 95 per cent of his full fashioned workers to join the union, that the unorganized CAN be organized. The American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers has also a true measure of the man and men with whom they are dealing. The union had not thought these men would stoop so low in their methods; the union had not imagined it to be possible. Further, for my own part, I serve notice on the Real Silk Company that I will keep up this fight on them until they have been brought to their senses. It is time that they realize that these United States still have some measure of freedom latent among the population. All Americans are not cowards. Their working force will let them know of that before many moons have passed.

Death Among The Breakers

2. *Stopping The Mining Slaughter*

By HARRIET SILVERMAN

Occupational Diseases

In addition to accidents there is always the possibility of asphyxiation from mine gases, such as methane or carbon monoxide. Other general conditions such as breathing a great deal of dust, particularly at the tippie or breakers, dampness and working in drafts, undue strain and exhaustion, all these conditions also seriously affect the body and produce high rates of diseases of the nose, throat, and lungs, as well as sickness in general. The claim is made that tuberculosis is not one of the occupational diseases of miners, in fact that there are none.

A miner who was entombed for seven days in one mine explosion told me his story of fearful suffering. Rescued at the point of death, he later recovered and was examined by the physician for Workmen's Compensation Benefit. The award paid him was only for external injuries and burns. One of the after-effects of the accident was a constant pain in the lungs, also coughing and general weakness. The doctor did not examine the man's lungs for tuberculosis, in fact for any internal disorder.

Since there has been no scientific study in this country, based on thorough medical examinations of a large group of miners, it is incorrect to claim that miners do not have any occupational diseases. Proof is needed first and I venture to say that an exhaustive investigation of this kind would disprove the present claims.

While the United States Coal Commission Report states that coal miners are subject to no special occupational diseases in the United States the same Commission found that: "Four fifths of all the anthracite workers' families visited paid doctors' bills during the six winter months of 1922-23, the average amount paid being \$53.82," or almost half of what all food, clothing, and lodging cost every month.

While engineering knowledge of the mining industry has pushed steadily forward, laws in the thirty-one coal mining states have lagged behind. Safeguards cost money—improved mining laws cost money and money pulls the strings of the legislatures. Ten or fifteen years of agitation and effort may bring one improvement. Facts regarding mine safety practices therefore rest safely between the covers of official bulletins and reports while workers daily face the risk of being wiped out in the next mine explosion.

Analyzing the various state mining codes we find the greatest lack of uniformity in standards for safety. No two codes are alike. Utah is supposed to have the most complete regulations but these are so far from adequate that they cannot serve as a pattern for a high standard of protection. For example, we are informed that though rock dusting is supposed to be compulsory, it is actually not being carried out. Likewise in the State of Illinois there is not one piece of "permissible" electrical equipment,—and so on down the list.

Only two states have definite laws for "permissible" explosives—Alabama and Colorado. Four regulate the

amount of black powder and one prohibits dynamite. Five states provide for electric firing. Only six states have compulsory rock dusting laws. Only one state—Oklahoma—defines "permissible timber" and Illinois is the only state which has regulations for crossbars. Requirements for adequate ventilation and electrical protection are equally chaotic.

In the matter of sanitary facilities we find that out of 23 mining states, 8 have no regulations, among them West Virginia and Kentucky. Nine states make no provision for wash houses. No states have regulations concerning privies, sewage or drinking fountains, and only one state provides for the weekly cleaning or fumigation of wash houses.

In the Government's Mines

In contrast to the lack of uniformity among the states, the United States Government adopted in 1920 a set of Operating Regulations for Government Leased Mines which must operate under this uniform standard and not according to the will of separate mine corporations. The Government owns 80 mines. "This set of regulations was formulated after a considerable amount of investigation and study and embodies about as much of the really up-to-date available data as to good safety practices as can be obtained." The code is a detailed set of rules including:

Ventilation.

Electrical installation and upkeep.

Lighting.

Tests for gases and explosions.

Compulsory rock dusting.

Handling and storage of explosives.

Fireproofing shafts and passageways.

Blasting regulations.

Permissible explosives.

Shot firing when all workers are out of the mine.

Specification for pillars, entries, brattices, partitions and manways.

First aid refuge chamber near shaft or bottom slope.

First aid supplies.

First aid receiving room near exit of mine or stripping.

First aid equipment underground.

Medical and surgical service where over 50 men are employed, at cost. Hospital to be established and maintained where 100 men are employed if there is none within 10 miles. Ambulance with nurses' service, at cost.

Mine rescue apparatus where more than 100 men are employed underground.

The U. S. Bureau of Mines established by Act of Congress in 1910, spent last year \$800,840 testing and experimenting with mining conditions, methods and equipments. It has published bulletins, technical papers and reports giving results of its investigations of mine gases, causes of explosions, underground electrical and other equipment, breathing apparatus, safety lamps, rescue work, rock dusting, permissible explosives.

In so far as the Bureau of Mines has added to the body

of information we now have for safeguarding the lives and limbs of miners, it has been useful. But it lacks any authority to carry out and enforce its recommendations. The Bureau has not even the power to enter and inspect a mine without the consent of the company and cannot condemn the operation of any mining property even though there are flagrant violations of safety requirements. It would have served a more useful purpose if even at the risk of having its appropriation cut off, the Bureau had taken a stand when a horrible mine explosion occurred by openly declaring the causes of the catastrophe and making public its charges against the corporation guilty of criminal negligence. Instead the Bureau of Mines relies on the voluntary cooperation of the coal barons to carry out its recommendations, keeps all reports of mine disasters confidential except for the corporations and has never taken a stand on the matter of bringing all the mines in the United States under Federal control to enforce a uniform standard of safety.

Profits for the Coal Corporations

The U. S. Coal Commission in 1923, after spending three-quarters of a million dollars studying the coal situation, came to the conclusion that: "Deliberate passing of more stringent laws and enforcement acts must increase the cost and the price of coal. All must admit that for one or two dollars per ton extra, more timbers could be used, more inspection provided, and the operation slowed down. It is probably not commercially feasible to do this. Therefore safety education through miners' organizations, miners' safety committees, miners' night schools, mining institutes, company officials meetings, state agencies and federal agencies, to the limit of their resources and power is the real answer to the question how safety underground shall be realized." This is plainly no solution for organized labor.

In the June 10th issue of the Anthracite Miner some of the difficulties which now beset the Miners' Union are described: "When the Pittsburgh Coal Company, largest coal operator in the world, began its unprovoked war upon the United Mines Workers, it had a pile of swag almost as big as a slate bank. It had a \$72,000,000 surplus over and above what it handed out royally to stockholders and officers in special business, etc.

"Three men had to be hired for one who remained at work under the guns of the coal and iron police. In March alone it cost the company \$75,000 for its army of gunmen. It has spent \$1,500,000 for this army since the 'open shop' was installed."

On the one hand we see the vested interests representing a concentration of gigantic capital controlling the mines, the railroads and all the basic industries making their enormous profits at the expense of the workers. On the other side of the picture we find the miner struggling to live on a yearly wage that is far below the minimum to provide the bare necessities with long periods of unemployment, constantly threatened by wage cuts, evictions from company-owned houses, denied civil rights and constantly menaced by organized warfare to smash the union.

The Girard Estate with coal fields in the Schuylkill region of Pennsylvania receives an average of \$1.27 in royalties on every ton of coal mined on its leased mines. In 1921 this royalty was paid on 2,983,723 tons of coal. The profits to the Girard Trust alone would be sufficient to supply every known safety device in the Pennsylvania

coal mines, build decent houses for the miners and their families to live in, raise Workmen's Compensation benefits from the miserable \$15 a week maximum to the level of full union wages to miners during the weeks when they are injured and unable to work, and in countless other ways raise the standard of life for the workers. And think what could be done with the three million dollar slush fund spent in the Pennsylvania primaries in one year.

Trade Union Action

There is nothing to expect in the way of voluntary action either from the federal government or the separate states. Only the organized and persistent demands of the Miners' Union prepared to strike against the continuance of conditions responsible for the present slaughter in our mines, will force action from these bodies. An organized drive for national regulation with uniform safety standards wherever coal is mined must be won for the coal miners. Anything short of this will not control the situation nor prevent the further wiping out of miners.

The Workers' Health Bureau is placing at the disposal of the Miners' Union its technical resources to gain National Control of Mine Hazards, State Protection, and to win Health Safeguards in every union agreement.

To this end the Workers' Health Bureau of America proposes the following measures:

A Miners' Safety Program

The first step is to organize a Miners' National Trade Union Safety Committee with representatives from every district in the United Mine Workers of America to co-operate with the Workers' Health Bureau in drawing up all measures necessary to guarantee protection in the Anthracite and Bituminous mines.

This will be a Miners' National Trade Union Standard of Health and Safety.

The Miners' National Trade Union Standard of Health and Safety must be won through:

1. Action by Congress giving a Department of the Federal government power to adopt and enforce these measures in every mine in the country.
2. A campaign in every state to bring mining laws up to the Trade Union Standard of Safety.
3. A clause in all Union Agreements for the adoption and enforcement of the Miners' National Trade Union Standard on Health and Safety with a strike penalty for failure to comply.
4. A maximum 6-hour day, 5-day week for the miners because mining is an extra-hazardous industry.
5. A Campaign in all non-union mining territories (as a counter offensive against the anti-union drive of the coal corporations) informing miners about existing Dangers, the Needless Waste of Life, How Mine Dangers can be Controlled through Trade Union Action, and the Necessity of Joining the Union to carry on the fight for better working conditions.
6. An immediate request to the U. S. Bureau of Mines:
 - a. To make public its reports of investigations of all mine disasters, copies to be available to the Miners' Union and State Departments of Labor, and not to the coal corporations exclusively.
 - b. To publish an annual report exposing mine corporations responsible for the largest number of accidents.
7. The creation of a Special Fund to meet the expenses of this program.

EDITORIAL OF THE MONTH

Justice Besmirched

SAMUEL TAIT, JR., of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch has given the Sacco-Vanzetti verdict a fitting name. He has termed it "judicial murder." It is noteworthy, indeed, that a number of daily papers of that type have fought to the last ditch for the freedom of these two innocent men. Despite the general prejudice against Sacco-Vanzetti beliefs, many conservative newspapers realize the serious undermining of all confidence in our courts that death for these men has entailed. With their electrocution at Charlestown, our judicial system has sunk further into the morass, in public opinion—even as Labor knows it to be enmired already.

Of the many editorials which have called for justice in this case, we reprint the following from the INDIANAPOLIS TIMES, a Scripps-Howard publication. We do so, because this expression is in broader terms than the question of the mere life and death of these two Italian immigrants. It presents an issue before us all, whether they be alive or dead. The sons of the Puritans have returned to the old gangrened morbidity of their ancestors. It is taking new forms, that is all. Judge Thayer is one of its psychopathic blooms.

WITCH-BURNERS

(Indianapolis Times, Aug. 10, 1927)

Of none of her sons has New England been prouder than of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Yet here is Hawthorne's view of the state of mind in which New England seems to be proceeding in the Sacco-Vanzetti case:

"He was one of the martyrs to that terrible delusion, which should teach us, among its other morals, that the influential classes, and those who take it upon themselves to be leaders of the people, are fully liable to all the passionate error that has ever characterized the maddest mob. Clergymen, judges, statesmen—wisest, calmest, holiest persons of their day—stood in the inner circle round about the gallows, loudest to applaud the work of blood, latest to confess themselves miserably deceived."

The "martyr" about whom Hawthorne was writing, of course, was not Sacco nor Vanzetti. He was describing the state of mind in which one Matthew Maule was executed earlier in New England's history, on the charge of witchcraft.

Massachusetts now stands shrouded with the hangman's robe and death-cap. Its chief pride,

Harvard University, has cooperated in throwing the cloak of approbation over this ghastly deed. No man who speaks for the right as he sees it, and against injustice, can now be sure of life. The poetess who wrote the libretto for "The King's Henchman," pictures the darkness thus:

IN MASSACHUSETTS

By Edna St. Vincent Millay

Let us abandon then our gardens and go home
And sit in the sitting room.
Shall the larkspur blossom or the corn grow under
this cloud?
Sour to the fruitful seed
Is the cold earth under this cloud.
Fostering quack and weed, we have marched upon
but cannot conquer;
We have bent the blades of our hoes against the
stalks of them.'

Let us go home and sit in the sitting room.
Not in our day
Shall the cloud go over, and the sun rise as before,
Beneficent upon us,
Out of the glittering bay,
And the warm winds be blown inward from the sea.
Moving the blades of corn with a peaceful sound.

Forlorn, forlorn
Will stand the blue hay-rack by the empty mow;
And the petals drop to the ground,
Leaving the tree unfruited.
The sun that warmed our stooping backs and with-
ered the weed uprooted—
We shall not feel it again.

We shall die in darkness and be buried in the rain
What from the splendid dead we have inherited—
Furrows sweet to the grain, and the weed subdued—
See now the slug and the mildew plunder.
Evil does overwhelm the larkspur and the corn;
We have seen them go under.

Let us sit here, sit still,
Here in the sitting room until we die.
At the step of death on the walk, rise and go;
Leaving to our children's children this beautiful door-
way.

And a blighted earth to till
With a broken hoe.

Getting The Message To Women

New Methods in Organizing

By FANNIA M. COHN

‘**W**HAT is the best way to organize women? Can they really be organized?’

“Of course,” say some with assurance.

“If the labor movement only wants to, it can organize all the women workers.”

“Oh, leave them women alone. They don’t want to be organized. They’re satisfied the way things are. They’ll stick to the boss just as long as he gets up to give ’em a seat in the subway. Like to play the lady, they do—don’t think it’s nice to walk around the streets striking. Strikes and picketing are men’s jobs, they say.”

These arguments for and against organization are advanced with perfect seriousness. Yet it seems clear to me that both rest on prejudice. The first is obviously based on mere theory, the second only seemingly on experience.

Such exaggerated points of view are of particularly little value in our time when the experimental method, already so fruitful in the other sciences, is becoming so important in the field of human behavior. Psychologists everywhere are making great efforts to understand the complexities of humanity, to find out how minds are impressed, how men get along with each other.

The business world has been prompt to utilize whatever discoveries have been made. An observing eye has but to look around in the street cars, along automobile roads, in newspapers and magazines to see the great display of advertising material attractively describing innumerable articles on sale. Thousands of men and women are engaged in this task—each a specialist in his field. To advertise a single breakfast food, for instance, it is necessary to enlist the co-operation of a dietician to prepare a menu, an artist to picture it attractively, a copy writer to tell an interesting story, a layout man to design the page and last, but decidedly not least, a good printer. And all of these people work in consultation with a psychologist.

Business does not spend this money because it thinks advertising matter will make the readers happier. It expects to have its expense repaid. It accepts the psychological principles revealed by experiment as worth spending some money on. Labor, too, must develop psychological principles by experiment and formulate a method of attack.

An experience of my own made clear to me the value of experiment in the formulation of organizing principles. A number of years ago, I was a member of a trade union committee in charge of an organizing campaign in Chicago. After a lengthy discussion, this committee decided to economize in the preparation of

organizing literature “because women are too busy to read it anyway.” Mere arguments against this decision were of no avail.

The handbills prepared were distributed on Market Street, the main thoroughfare in the factory district, when the girls came out of the shop. Afterwards, at my suggestion, the committee inspected the street to see how the handbill had been received. They found, to their dismay that 98 per cent of the handbills had been thrown away on the sidewalk. To add to their distress, some of the members of the committee were arrested for violation of a usually unenforced Chicago ordinance forbidding the distribution of literature on the street without a permit. The officer who arrested the committee members explained his unusual action in court thus: “Your Honor, you should have seen the sidewalks on Market Street and in the neighborhood. You couldn’t see the pavement. If someone had dropped a lighted cigaret, there would have been a paper explosion.”

This sad experience was a convincing enough argument. The next handbill the committee prepared was attractive—in material, layout, paper and type, so that it was easy to read even in the car. Then, too, it dealt in not too many words—and simple language—with only a single problem. The other problems we decided to treat in later handbills, each one devoted to a single question. So armed, we ventured to distribute handbills on Market Street again without a permit, and this time our committee of inspection was pleasantly surprised to find less than 3 per cent of the handbills on the sidewalks—and our fire-preventing officer left with small grounds for arrest.

The committee in charge of this organization campaign was ever after strongly in favor of giving much time and energy to the preparation of literature. This laboratory test showed the invalidity of the theory that women in a hurry to get home after work will not stop and read organization literature. True, they did not stop to read either handbill, but the second was attractive enough to be stuffed hastily into handbags, and very likely to be read later on.

Experiment had here revealed a useful general principle, and experiment may be counted on for such useful principles in other fields. We can lay down no hard and fast regulations for organization. It is especially difficult to make any such declarations with regard to women, because our knowledge about how to organize women workers is limited. But some methods have been shown to be most uniformly successful. Many of these methods appeal to people in general rather than to women alone—such as in literature the use of effective language, plain presentation of the facts and careful

arrangement. Other organizing methods which I will discuss apply to women only.

In the preparation of pamphlets, for instance, the experienced organizer has found the question form with answers given where necessary decidedly the most useful. By giving the reader an opportunity to answer questions out of her own experience and thus giving room for thought, the pamphlets stimulate to independent activity.

In fixing a meeting place for women workers, for instance, the organizer keeps in mind certain very important things. Men may be but little disturbed by either the location or the attractiveness of a meeting hall—it will matter much to women. A meeting hall to be used in an organizing campaign among women workers, we know, is preferably centrally located to avoid a long walk from the factories; it is near the transit lines; it has a presentable entrance and a clean, cheerful cozy and attractively decorated meeting room. (Finding the dust of the meeting room chair on her dress may mar the memory of the meeting to many a woman.) These seemingly little things all work together to create a proper atmosphere, to bring the women into a friendly, receptive mood. And the organizer knows, too, that a speaker can be more convincing, more inspiring in speaking of how organization can help workers to more of the beautiful things of life, if he is undistracted by ugly surroundings.

Another very important consideration of which the experienced organizer is aware is the length of the meeting. After a day's work, everyone is eager to be home in time for dinner and to get ready for an evening's amusement. For a number of fairly obvious reasons, this is even more true of women workers. The organizer thus knows that it is essential that the organization meeting be short.

In their eagerness to impress workers with the need of organization, some organizers abuse their audience's patience. Carried away by their desire to win over the group to their ideals—they think they must accomplish all this at one meeting. Frequently, of course, the audience gives notice to the speaker by disappearing one by one from the hall before the speech is finished. But even if the speakers are eloquent and interesting enough to keep the audience so entranced that they forget the passage of time, such a long meeting has discouraging results. On their way home, annoyed by an empty stomach and thoughts of a mother's probable alarm, these girls, but an hour before members of an inspired audience, now freed from the spell, decide not to attend the next meeting.

An intelligent organizer knows that the organization campaign should have two phases—the general and the specific. In the preparation of literature, for instance, the problems with which all working women are confronted should be touched on as well as those in the specific industry being invaded. The general appeal tends to overcome time-honored prejudices of women and their families against organization, and to show not

only the importance to women of trade unions, but the possibility of building them up. The specific appeal, dealing as it does with conditions in a particular industry, and the possibility of improving them, comes much closer to home.

Every organizer knows that, in addition, local shop problems must be touched on. But unless a plant is very large, an organizer may find it impossible to prepare special literature for it. If he cannot distribute special literature to the shop, he distributes the general literature only. After he has found out all about conditions in the shop, he has well informed committees approach the workers and call them to a shop meeting. Nothing is so impressive to workers as a knowledge of conditions in a shop. Exaggerations defeat their own aims.

It is appreciated nowadays that it is very difficult to plan an effective and successful organizing campaign among workingwomen without the aid of women organizers. I have dwelt upon this in previous articles, but I regard it as so important that I believe it cannot be overemphasized.

These concrete methods of attack, the product of experimentation in organizing, should prove most effective if they are used in organizing along with the general attitude, likewise determined by experiment to be most successful. This approach, as those who have tried to organize women, and particularly young women, have found, should be one of sympathetic understanding.

But this sympathy must never be overdone, so as to become sentimental. The organizer must not speak as if to immature people or try to be funny—I distinguish here between being funny and being humorous. For women, we know, respond most cordially to a serious and earnest appeal. They desire above all to be met on equal grounds, even by organizers who are older and more experienced. The truth of that is shown in our colleges, for it is well known that those professors who treat their students seriously are not only most popular but most successful. Young people now want to be regarded earnestly and taken into confidence by their elders.

Women can be most successfully appealed to through their desire for respect from their menfolk. Many of us women know that though it is difficult, it is not impossible to convince them that by joining trade unions and fighting for their rights and to improve their conditions, they will gain that respect—from father, brother and men friends. Much can be done by impressing upon them the fact that men will welcome them as equals when they, as well as the men in their circle, join the labor movement. They will eventually realize that recognition will come to them only when they have assumed their responsibilities as members of our economic, social and political sphere, and have in consequence become a social force in our modern society, working for the necessary constructive changes in our social life that will help us to reach a fuller and richer life.

THE UNHOLY TRINITY

But By No Means Unbeatable

COURAGE is often only skin deep. Bluff and bluster are no small part of the employers' game. When we look at these employers, individually, at short distance, we see that they are a stupid crew at the best. Theirs is economic power, nevertheless, and in that there is much substance.

Three vicious instruments of the anti-union interests, which are not shadows by any use of fancy, were reviewed by Secretary Frank Morrison of the A. F. of L. at the convention of the I. T. U. last month. They are the obstacles we have to overcome to re-establish some degree of economic freedom in this country:

1. Company Unionism.
2. Yellow doggery.
3. Injunctions.

This unholy trinity is well-entrenched and becoming more so. It has produced a paralysis of fear among non-union workers, destroying the very fibre of their manhood. To smash this triplet of evils will be no holiday undertaking. But smash them we must—and can.

The company union is the easiest. To capture it for the real union is the simplest of jobs. A secret campaign, carried through intelligently, will turn the trick. It must be a campaign well-prepared and speedily carried out. The labor spy must be spotted and eliminated. Confidence must be inspired in the workers, through the secret campaign. They must be made to know that their membership will never be known, until the proper hour arrives. That has been successfully accomplished in a number of cases. It can be done even more widely in the future.

Yellow doggery can be defeated, perhaps, by legislation. We who know how the courts of this country have sold themselves to Mammon can have little hope for relief in that direction. The servile instruments of Big Business—the judges—will discover new and tortuous ways of ruling out such legislation. When a company union is captured, however, the company union can be used to circumvent the contract, by itself striking against this new form of indentured labor. Pressure can frequently be brought through organizations and individuals to whom the employer pays lip tribute and in whose good graces he wishes to be, to denounce him as the tyrant that he is in such cases. Other and subtler means can be used to efface this badge of slavery.

Injunctions, when made permanent, can only be defeated in one way—by open defiance in mass. Thousands of workers in jail will bring the courts to time.

The whole business is by no means a helpless task. The unholy trinity is by no means unbeatable.

SHALL THE MINERS FIGHT ALONE?

The Adventure of the Million Dollar Injunction

AS General Secretary Thomas Kennedy of the U. M. W. went from Indianapolis on August 20th to address a meeting of the striking miners in Pittsburg, he was served with notice of a million dollar injunction suit against his organization. It is one of thousands which have been hurled at the United Mine Workers during the past few years.

The miners have not feared to face these despot measures. They have fought them to the limit in the present strike. On one occasion, one officer of the union was served with 32 injunctions in the course of one day. Did that stop his activities? Not a bit of it. He went on, with a slight change in his methods, at the job that there was for him to do.

This raises the natural question: Shall the miners fight alone against the new devices of Judgocracy? Shall they alone wrestle with injunctions, yellow dog contracts, etc., etc.? Many other unions, looking these devices in the face, are inclined to crumple up before them. Why should they do that? By such action, they are committing sheer suicide. Success through yellow dog or injunction in one case encourages employers in another. There are enough employers' associations, God Knows, inciting the bosses to do these very things. There is enough scum existing in the form of private detective agencies zealously ready to get the employer into a war on this question, for so much per.

We feel sure that as other unions realize that the United Mine Workers are in the front line trenches, fighting not only for themselves but for Labor as a whole, they will join in the struggle against their enemies.

Also, we are pleased to note that the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers will take the bull by the horns at their coming convention in the city of Philadelphia. They intend to go after this matter of the "yellow dog," hammer and tongs. We applaud that resolution. Slavery in non-union centers is the alternative. We will welcome a similar action on the part of other unions. This is the fighting stage of labor organization. He who does not fight, without quarter, will perish.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

WE MUST BE RADICAL!

No Excuse for Inaction

In morals, as in art, Saying is nothing, Doing is all.—Ernest Renan.

LOUNGE lizardry is by no means confined to reactionaries. It blooms, in good measure, among those numbered as "radicals". For such of them as this thought applies, TALK about their own sweet scheme for the world's deliverance may be an effective opiate against ACTION. So within the ranks of Labor, likewise.

Alibis are the easiest things in the world to invent. More men have talked themselves into a bad situation, than have acted their way out of it. We are frankly tired—sick and tired—of labor men who merely talk, and do nothing toward making such talk live. There never was a time when we should be more up and doing than now, when we have so much more powerful foes to attack.

Necessarily, we shall be called "radical", if we ever get busy doing anything. Necessarily, we shall cease to be in such good favor with the Y. M. C. A. secretaries and the "live wires" of the Chambers of Commerce. Necessarily, such harsh things will be said of us as the Bulletin of the Federated Industries of Washington says of "workers education".

Listen to this lyric, from that worthy source, and learn that we can never hope for good will from our employer-enemies:

"It never seems to occur to the American people that there is anything strange in the movement to educate the workingmen in special workingmen's schools. The public school system isn't good enough. No, that is not the reason. The labor movement is based on class consciousness and on a brand of economics and an interpretation of history not taught in institutions of learning, except under teachers of the Socialistic school. Labor wants its votaries blinded—hence the drive for labor schools teaching

labor economics and labor history. The future welfare of this country does not lie in pollution of our fountains of learning from any source."

What an accumulation of intellectual rot! The public school system, fought for by the organized workers and fought against by the employing interests of that day, has been captured by the enemies of progress. And yet, this employers' sheet, written by some little pimp of reaction, sneers: "The public school system isn't good enough?" Then, it proceeds to attack our "class conscious" institutions.

Of course, we are class conscious. What is the Labor Movement, anyway, but the expression of the lower class? What are the Federated Industries and its captured public schools, but instruments of the governing class? Between the two, there will be unending struggle, conceal it as they will, until the workers control all, even as the merchant and manufacturing class have come to beat the kings.

For us of Labor, if we do our job aright, there is no choice but to be "radical". Not in talk, so much, as in act. There is no alternative. It is smash the other fellow or be smashed ourselves. The test of our doing is the question: "How much of this war are we carrying to the factory gate? How much effort are we giving to the education of the unorganized, rather than to the attempt to sell unionism to the employers?"

Of course, our education must be "class conscious". What the blazes is the whole business about, if not to equip ourselves more effectively to meet the employer on the battlefield and whip him, eventually, into submission? Unless that is our object, unionism is meaningless. It is for that chief purpose that workingmen have allied themselves together. Whether they will or not, they cannot halt. Either press forward more militantly and daringly, or be wiped out as men.

It is almost incredible. Yet, here it is before us in black and white. In the state of New York last year, 99,000 workers were seriously injured at work. So the State Department of Labor reports.

These were men and women who were incapacitated for more than one week. Hundreds of thousands were laid up for lesser periods. Over one thousand persons—1,042 to be exact—were killed through industrial accidents in the Empire State in the same period.

Employers talk much about "Safety" since workmen's compensation came into effect. They have been interested in it, as a catch-word at least, since it began to affect their pocketbooks. Safety, at that, seems to be still a far-away goal.

A chief way to cut down these industrial accidents is to raise the compensation. New York pays a maximum of \$20 a week, much better than many other states. And yet, many of these workers earned much more than that. They were penalized for being injured. Rather should industry give them an extra recompense for the pain it has caused them. Those 99,000 should be pointed to all over the country as evidence that our compensation laws are far from adequate. The campaign for higher payments should go forward more vigorously in 1928.

MAKING 'EM WHINE

UNION victory has a remarkable effect. It is only a few days ago that the employees at gas service stations in the Middle West were under-paid and oppressed. Then came the explosion in Chicago. A 100 per cent strike promised to give the city a "gasless Sunday." Late on the Saturday night before such a dreaded event could come to pass agreement was reached. It was a victory for the men.

Encouraged, the workers in gas stations all over the Middle West began to perk up and take notice. They could see the value of united action.

Now we see a marvelous thing in all the Middle Western papers. The Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, with offices at 910 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, is advertising its virtues to its working force. The threat of wider unionism is making them whine.

Under the title of "Give and Take", we note this moving story:

"Twenty-nine thousand men and women are able to devote the best that is in them to the doing of a work for the benefit of others because they are secure in the knowledge that their efforts will receive just compensation.

"They are not harassed by uncertainty. They know that their needs will be supplied. Each day they are earning the good things of life by doing useful work that in itself is a satisfaction.

"They need not worry about pay in an organization where the natural laws of Give and Take function perfectly. Employees of the Standard Oil Co. (Indiana) are free to concentrate on the giving, confident of just reward."

How sublime! If partial unionization can produce such blubbering, what floods of slobbery would full unionization bring about. What affection these philanthropists discover for their workers when organization comes nigh!

WHERE'S THE GIANT KILLER?

GIANTS have risen in our land. They are corporations, and anti-union corporations at that.

A series of articles running in the Scripps-Howard newspapers throws light on this development in American economic life. We all knew about it in a general way, but the figures are impressive. There are ten billionaire corporations in the United States, led off by the United States Steel Corporation. Here they are, with their assets, stockholders and employees:

AMERICA'S TEN BILLION-DOLLAR CORPORATIONS.

(Figures for 1926, where available, are given; otherwise for 1925)

| | Total Assets | Value of Physical Properties | No. of Stock holders | No. of Em- ployes |
|---|-----------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. United States Steel Corporation..... | \$2,454,000,000 | \$1,692,000,000 | 143,703 | 254,000 |
| 2. Southern Pacific Railroad | 2,147,000,000 | 1,341,000,000 | 57,000 | 71,000 |
| 3. Pennsylvania Railroad | 1,819,000,000 | 1,010,000,000 | 140,000 | 214,000 |
| 4. American Tel. & Tel. Co. | 1,646,000,000 | 197,000,000 | 362,000 | 293,000 |
| 5. New York Central Railroad | 1,449,000,000 | 1,020,000,000 | 64,000 | 102,000 |
| 6. Standard Oil of New Jersey .. | 1,369,000,000 | 520,000,000 | 80,000 | 91,000 |
| 7. Union Pacific Railroad | 1,140,000,000 | 819,000,000 | 51,000 | 60,000 |
| 8. Atch., Top and Santa Fe Railroad | 1,071,000,000 | 945,000,000 | 63,000 | 60,000 |
| 9. General Motors Corporation | 920,894,000 | 400,000,000 | 50,369 | 129,000 |
| 10. Ford Motor Co..... | 800,000,000 | 300,000,000 | | \$ 192,000 |

Read over that list and you see, by and large, the bastilles of anti-unionism. They are the great objectives which the Movement has before it. Until they are organized, no union effort is certain of full permanency. When and where will the Giant Killers arise who will smite these huge enemies of the workers? That is a problem with which we should all be concerned. At the risk of wearisome repetition, we wish to state that craft unionism will not do the trick. It requires industrial unionism to do it.

PULLING THE WOOL OVER

Company Unionists' Advice to Each Other

THAT cat is coming out of the bag. By degrees, a lot of folks are becoming alive to the fraud involved in company unionism.

The Catholic weekly, AMERICA, is one of these. In its issue of August 6, it says in part:

"If there is anything more damnable in American economic life than the so-called company union, we have not yet come upon its foul trail. In its profession of tender care for the worker's welfare it is a liar and hypocrite to boot."

We have been pointing to that conclusion for lo, these many months. It is gratifying, therefore, to find such strong words used by an organ unconnected with the labor struggle. As if to prove the charge of lying and hypocrisy, we note the little discussion going on in LAW AND LABOR regarding the best way to pull the wool over the workers' eyes in this respect.

LABOR AND LAW, it must be remembered, is the organ

of the old Anti-Boycott Association all dressed up in a new guise. In its issue of August, 1927, it has these suggestions on company union agreements from that arch-hypocrite, the Standard Oil Co.:

Mr. T. H. A. Tiedemann, speaking for the Standard Oil Company, expresses a word of caution in the wording of agreements. He says: "Limited agreements—those with prohibitions—are in my opinion entirely futile. This applies to the omission of certain words. Instead of safeguarding the management's position in regard to the particular phase such an omission really creates a terrific interest in the absent word. For instance, preambles and statements of purpose which omit the word 'wages' must cause the same psychological reaction upon the employees affected as the Volstead Act causes upon the people of this country. It seems to be human nature to clamor for the forbidden fruit."

How nicely put! Let the workers imagine that they are having something to say about that "forbidden fruit", wages, but don't allow them to have any such right in reality. There you have the whole case summed up.

Mr. Tiedemann was quite frank with a good Germanic frankness. Of course, he thought he was merely talking to fellow-robbers. But he omitted to refer to the terrorism that must go along with any such program. Nowhere in this country is company unionism upheld by sugar-and-honey words alone. It is backed up, everywhere, by force and fear. That is its most despicable feature.

WITHOUT QUARTER

We Can't Get Away From It!

FURTHER reference to that August issue of LAW AND LABOR will be of value. For some time, we have been stating pretty definitely that no policy of advance conciliation with anti-union employers will make any headway. They are determined on establishing baronies, little or big as the case may be, all over this country.

Let us quote from the anti-union organ:

"Lately the publications of organized labor and the speeches of its spokesmen no longer feature cooperation and the elimination of waste, but they emphasize their opposition to employee representation and the use of the injunction in labor disputes. Of course the objection is not to the injunction as such, for organized labor complains as bitterly of the verdict of the jury, as in the Danbury Hatters or the Coronado Coal cases, as it does of the judgment of a court which merely restrains further unlawful conduct, but does not penalize the unions for unlawful actions already taken. So apparently trade unionism is not ready to stand on its own feet and compete in a society where its activities are subject to the restraints of law and to the competition of other methods of employment relations not dominated by the power of the trade union to compel the employer to sign on the dotted line."

The inference from this is obvious. The anti-union employers, as represented by this organ, would have Organized Labor merely something of a buria' society. Because we protest against the tyrannical attitude of the courts and their prostitution to the employing interests, we thereby show ourselves to be "unfair."

What irony is in that phrase, "compete in society where its activities are subject to the restraints of law." What restraints of law bind down our opponents? Is the Standard Oil Co. really dissolved by the Sherman Act? Has the U. S. Steel Corporation suffered from that measure? No; the law has been openly and cynically defied. Courts have laughed at it.

Anti-union employerdom intends to give us no quarter. Our answer should be in kind—at least, until we have achieved organization. In the process of organizing, the business of "selling" unionism to the employer is largely a hopeless one. He must be pounded into submission, not cajoled into cooperation. You can put this in your pipe and smoke it: He will NOT be cajoled.

WELL! WHAT DO YOU SAY?

WHAT a man is a free man! No wintry bondage bears him down and freezes up his spirit. Every minute is warmth, is light, is life. For Power he has no servile reverence; for Property he has no gnawing hunger. He steps out among his fellows, open-faced to the sunlight, while they are clouded, haggard and afraid.

Such are the men we need in the movement of the workers. Such are they who can call a halt to that slavery of the spirit, which our Employing Overlords are attempting to rivet on their thoughtless dupes.

They may subscribe for stock at its prevailing market rate, the price being guaranteed by the company to offset any fluctuations in the open market. Subscribers are allowed to buy shares to an amount not exceeding five per cent of their yearly earnings, while the company contributes ten per cent, the first year and adds one per cent each succeeding year.

Well, what do you say? Pretty slavish Americans! But that rather widespread condition can be combatted, through intelligent agitation—such as would come from an Anti-Company Union Bureau of the A. F. of L. We believe the present situation makes the establishment of such a bureau an imperative necessity.

SLAVERY ON THE SEAS

SINCE time began when men sailed on the waters, the common tar has been a slave. The La Follette Act of 1915 struck the chains from the American seaman. But he could not be wholly free as long as those of other lands were in bondage. Therefore, the struggle to commit other seamen and other nations to our statute.

The Seamen's Union of this country has struggled, in the League of Nations and out, to get this principle enacted into law. But as yet, in vain. Some of the seamen's unions of other lands objected, notably that queer organization headed by Havelock Wilson of Great Britain. They did not want to be free! Their reason was, that while they were not allowed to leave ship at any foreign port, neither were their masters (under the British law and that of some other nations) permitted to discharge them until the voyage was done. It seems never to have occurred to them that the law might be enacted merely for their protection—striking the shackles from them but retaining the penalty for the master who would drop them in some strange port for cheaper coolie or lascar labor.

In Other Lands

EXIT GENEVA

"Statesmen" Fail Again

THAT much heralded conference is at an end. It was to produce disarmament among the nations. Calvin, caught among many difficulties, brought forth the dove of peace. Britain could not refuse to meet upon the question. The discussion at Geneva was the outcome.

We now know that the "war to end war" slogan was a crass falsehood. England continues its determination to be mistress of the seas. America likes that not at all. She would cut the tonnage of big ships, as such a move would give her a great advantage over the British. Under the present building program, as it is, the British Empire will have a tonnage in that class greater than the United States

and Japan put together. Die-Hardism—at present so much engaged in attacking Russia—would like to increase this ratio, if it could.

Geneva failed because no nation at the table was thinking of peace. All were concerned with future wars. Each was seeking to weaken the other in such a way as would prove a real hindrance in time of crisis. Geneva failed because the present order, and its rulers and statesmen are dreaming of new markets at the expense of others. The rock-bottom hope for peace does not lie in Genevas. It does not lie in statesmen. It rests with the workers of the world. Until they have educated themselves against all war, such fiascos as that of this year will prepare the way for coming holocausts.

GOING TO THE COUNTRY

The infamous Trade Union Bill having become law, the Labor forces of Britain are looking ahead to the grand show-down. The Tories themselves realize that they cannot hold on to office forever. Their plan has been to rush through as much legislation as possible injurious to the workers' cause.

That plan has not been altogether successful. The promised "reform" of the House of Lords has fallen flat. For the time being, the Tories have been compelled to withdraw it. Had it gone through, the House of Lords would have been limited in number; it would have been in large part a body elected by the present set of "lords". This would have made it conservative forever and a day. The Labor Party naturally opposed this, as they would like to see either the total abolition of that House or the extension of Labor Lords; or at any rate, the continuation of the present situation, wherein that "upper body" is largely helpless. For the Tory proposal would also have carried with it the granting of new powers to the lords—powers shorn from them a number of years ago.

Economics as well as politics favors the growth of Labor politically. Despite the cessation of the miners' strike, the unemployed still stand at something over 1,000,000 in number. From all the conservative papers of the country there still goes up a chorus of appeal for "prosperity". No one except Labor seems to know where to look for it. No force except Labor is willing to have a complete reorganization of the social and economic system, and have it over with.

FASCISM KIDS ITSELF

No case of self-deception is more ironical than that of Italy. Fascist newspapers sing the praises of the new era that has dawned. Much is made of a "prosperity" which no one can find. Unemployment is gripping the nation, and yet no one dares to mention the fatal word.

The last government loan was a complete failure. Only 3,000,000 lire could be collected, although every means

were used to force the public to buy. Bankers were even threatened with death. This slim response compares with the 21,000,000 lire raised at one time by Premier Nitti (in 1920).

Industry and agriculture are having a hard time of it. Much uncertainty as to the intentions of the government has played no little role in the failure of these two important units of Italian economic life. The threat of war, which Mussolini is hurling at all the countries about him, serves further to make the nation uneasy. Were it not for an iron-bound rule, backed up by the greatest gang of gunmen in the world, Fascism could be seen to be what it is in reality—a farcical fiasco. Even in its greatest promise—to restore economic stability—it has completely misfired.

OUT-OF-WORK STILL AT IT

Workers in Europe still wrestle with the curse of unemployment. Recovery has been much slower than anticipated. The summer, of course, has caused a let-down in the number of those on the registered lists; but the total remains high.

In Austria, at the end of June, 158,821 were drawing unemployment benefits. Last year at that time 154,821 were on the lists. In Czechoslovakia 60,098 are in a similar predicament. In Holland on May 1, 7 per cent of the workers were unemployed, compared to 5.4 per cent on the same date last year. Italy finds twice as many out this year as in 1926 at the same time. France is in the best shape in this respect, and government unemployment relief has dropped to almost nothing. This does not include all the men out part or whole time. Germany's unemployed have dropped considerably in number also—from 1,740,000 last year to 806,000 in 1927.

The black feature, even of the recovery in certain countries, has been the fact that the workers have had to pay for the comeback. Low wages and long periods of unemployment have bled them white. The hopeful thing about the partial recovery is, that it may lead to effective trade union action.

IRELAND'S LABOR PARTY

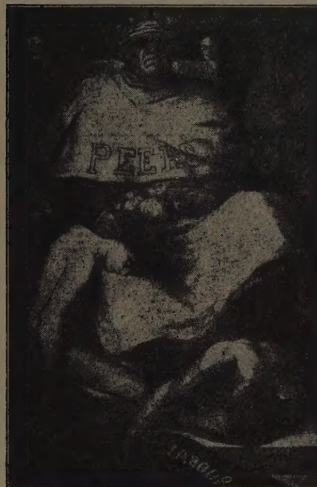
Emerging from the last Irish general election, the Labor Party there begins to assume a position of some power. Its 22 members of Parliament are still far from a controlling influence. When compared with the 47 members of the governmental party and the 44 representatives of the extreme Republican group, it is a small number indeed. When, however, the De Valera followers decided to remain permanently in Parliament, taking a lip-service oath to the King, the strategic position occupied by the Laborites became of importance. In fact, for a time it looked as though Tom Johnson would become Prime Minister of Ireland. As a result of the deliberate absence of one member of the Redmond group the Cosgrove government, however, was given a temporary lease of life. Encouraged by returns in two bye-elections Cosgrove decided upon a new election. This was greeted as a shrewd move by politicians, though J. J. Walsh, a member of the cabinet quit in a huff because he had not been consulted about the advisability of a general election.

The opposition parties enter the campaign with very little money. Yet the Labor Party has a good chance to increase its representation. For one thing, Proportional Representation, is in effect there, and that is a factor in Labor's favor.

One reason for the improved position of the Irish Labor Party is that about a year ago it decided to broaden its scope. Previously only trade unionists were eligible to run for office on the Labor ticket. Now anyone subscribing to the platform may be a candidate.

Above all, the rise of such a political group in a country so largely agricultural is a noteworthy event. Over and above the nationalistic issues, which have convulsed Ireland for so many years, a new and more worthwhile issue may get into the limelight. The economic question, which has caused so many commotions of a political nature, is becoming more sharply outlined in all European countries. Ireland cannot escape it. For years her economic problems have been shunted aside, urgent as they were, by the all-absorbing fight for "freedom" as a nation. The Labor Party's increasing strength indicates that a new phase of Irish history is probably about to be written.

ENTHRONING AUTOCRACY



London New Leader

Even some of his own crowd couldn't stand Baldwin's plan to make the House of Lords the final arbiters of British legislation—but the Tories are getting desperate. He will try again later, we may be sure.

BRIAND VS. POINCARÉ

That the path of the peacemaker is not an easy one has been discovered by Briand. Speaking at one of the sessions of the Interparliamentary Union in Paris, he complained because his efforts on behalf of peace had laid him open to the charge of being "unpatriotic".

The struggle between Briand and Poincaré continues. There is reason to believe, however, that the former's policies will win in the near future. Economic conditions will bring this about.

Throughout the sessions of the parliamentarians there arose a demand on the part of the German representatives for the evacuation of French troops from the Rhine. Their French colleagues, in return, confined themselves to invoking constantly the "Spirit of Locarno."

WORLD-WIDE

THE 1927 International Cooperative Congress opened on August 15th at Stockholm, Sweden.

This great movement for business without profits is now indeed world-wide. China is the 37th country to join hands with other cooperatives in the International alliance. The volume of business carried on by the societies represented in the alliance arose last year to \$200,000,000. Now, a great 13-nation international cooperative combine has been set afoot. It will unite the movements of Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, Finland, Australia and New Zealand. The WALL STREET JOURNAL declares that this will be the biggest aggregation of

chain stores in the world. "It will represent every 4th family in Great Britain, every 5th family in Sweden, every 3rd family in Switzerland, and 3 out of 10 families in Russia."

Thus arises the great cooperative league of nations—more potent for peace than any artificial league created by the war-makers. As President Jackson of the British Cooperative Congress said, "The links of cooperative trade are the bonds of peace." The links of capitalist trade, on the other hand, are the cause of wars. Workingmen the world over must hail this immense development—the future substitute, in part at least, for the present wasteful and exploiting system.



"Say It With Books"



"RED LOVE"

ALEXANDRA Kollontai makes an attempt in "Red Love" to present the problems of the new woman brought into being by the Russian Revolution.

It is the story of Vassilissa, a young woman active in the Communist Party who in the early days of the Revolution meets and falls in love with an American Anarchist. Volodya has, however, accepted the Soviet form of government and is working for the Russian state. So their love has its basis not only in a physical attraction, but in their mutual interest in the cause of the workers.

Vassilissa, absorbed in her work—the service of the new social order—neglects her lover, and though long periods of separation do not weaken her love for him, Volodya is drawn into other love affairs. They grow apart from each other. Volodya still finds a friend in Vassilissa but he seeks his love in Nina Constantinova, a selfish, luxury-loving bourgeois "hussy". Loving Nina, he continues to live with Vasya for a time. When she suspects the truth at last, she begins by making jealous scenes, but ends by leaving Volodya. Back in her native town, she discovers that she is pregnant, and after an inevitably difficult period of readjustment, decides gladly to bring up her child by herself with the aid of the town's nursery.

The novel shows clearly enough how the tragedies growing out of human relationships are intensified in our own time by the differing environments to which people are subjected. Living as we do in a transition period, we are more open to the influence of great events that influence our minds, touch our hearts, and impress our emotions. These effect changes in attitude toward many things, but changes different persons in different degrees.

This importance of environment is clearly revealed in "Red Love". Volodya, though still working for the Revolution, is engaged in activity that tends to develop a business psychology in him. As manager in a large factory he is interested chiefly in business and grows away from the workers. This is not very difficult for him, for he has always been much occupied with externals, much concerned with comfortable living.

Vassilissa, on the other hand, has remained the working girl, living the life of the worker. Her occupation keeps her constantly in touch with the people of the masses—their happiness and sadness, their joys and sorrows are close to her. Discouraged at times with the pettiness of the people with whom she works and whose needs are close

to her heart, her discouragement never grows far enough to make her lose faith in the ultimate goal of the Russian Revolution.

With Vassilissa, as with many other sensitive and emotional people, this growing apart brings tragedy with it. For sensitive people, more than others, are unwilling to give up friends. Much rather would they give up fortune, position in society whatever it is, than friends. And tragedy rises when the clinging is to what the friends have been rather than what they are.

The tragedy is intensified in Vassilissa's case as in too many others by her failure to realize that her interests are varied. Man is not yet made to a pattern; he has conflicting desires, conflicting wishes. He needs a variety of people to satisfy his interests.

Vassilissa cannot understand Volodya's fondness for Nina, for instance, clear as it is. Nina cannot, of course, compensate Volodya for the vanished friendship and affection of Vasya, but she can give him something different, something he wants as much. Volodya, quite humanly loves both women, and reveals it more frankly, for men are freer in admitting varied interests in our time than are women.

Vassilissa, though she is the new folk woman produced by the Revolution, is nevertheless dependent for her happiness upon Volodya, who is not only lover to her, but comrade in a common cause, devoted to the ideal she has given her life to.

When she feels him slipping from her, she tries to convince herself that devotion to the Party is enough to make her happy. To her, the Communist Party is the symbol of the Revolution and its aims, and of the rise of the common worker against all forms of oppression. Her devotion to the needs of the toiling masses she expresses through the Party, it is her symbol of adherence to the workers' cause. But like many people in the world who feel able to get along without desiring understanding or affection, she is shocked to realize that the happiness of human beings is dependent on small things.

It is because of her dependence on Volodya that Vasya clings to him long after their love has died. She is unwilling to recognize that the love has died, until after she has observed the relations between the unhappily married Fedosseyev and Dora and come to realize that with them

the break has come between her and Volodya. Then she admits painfully, "There are other rights not dictated by human laws. They are the commands of the heart."

The Fedosseyev's affair opens her eyes, too, to Volodya's love for Nina. Until then she has been deeply offended that her friends, lover and comrade could exchange her for such a "hussy", hurt that her "darling" can respond to the love of such a woman. The Fedosseyevs open her eyes. She is ashamed to realize that she has been acting as meanly as Dora, trying to compel the love of her husband who loves and is loved by another.

I am not convinced after reading "Red Love" that she will find happiness away from Volodya. It will take much time and much change in woman's mind and sentiments before she will entirely readjust herself to such a condition as that of Vassilissa. The author is convinced that the readjustment will come, prophetically revealing it, and it is, of course, probable that it will come.

FANNIA M. COHN.

The Master Builders. Mary H. Wade. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

This is a children's book of life sketches of James J. Hill, Alexander Graham Bell, Booker Washington, George W. Goethals, Andrew Carnegie, and Henry Ford. The book is well written and contains information of value to workers' children; but it is not written from a viewpoint that workers' children ought to have, and it should not be put into their hands unless some intelligent adult is prepared to read it along with them and supply the labor angle of vision.

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Little Bits of News and Views

RUSSIA—says James M. Lynch, former President of the International Typographical Union—has set one example which all nations might well follow. This is, in the determination to develop water power, under control and ownership by the people. In the U. S. A. the Labor Movement should throw itself wholeheartedly into the fight for publicly-owned waterpower.

* * *

FASCISM—according to Andrew Furuseth, President of the Seamen's Union—threatens the workers of the world. In the United States, the Fascist attitude is seen in the recent decision against the Stonecutters. It follows up many adverse decisions against Labor. Unless the workers determine to fight the courts, they will be gradually enslaved by our Judgocracy.

* * *

UNIONISM—declares Daniel J. Tobin, President of the Teamsters' Union—faces extinction, unless a new spirit is evident within its ranks. Lethargy and defeatism cannot batter to pieces the present Reaction.

* * *

ANSWER to the above is given indirectly by James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and of the Workers Education Bureau. The Labor Movement and its workers' educational movement must be dedicated to the bringing in of a New Social Order, he says. It must attack the Capitalist System uncompromisingly. It must be dedicated to the destruction of the Profit System. That is the great ideal which will inspire the workers of America and of the world. Without ideals, no movement can survive.

* * *

MILITANCY cannot last in a Movement—says another well-known labor official—in which many of its leaders accept petty political offices from one or the other of the capitalist parties. "That is not rewarding your friends and punishing your enemies. It is being rewarded by your friends—or perhaps your enemies."

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Honor Roll

In the Labor Age Crusade

S. J. KING, Financial Secretary of Boston Lodge No. 164, International Association of Machinists, got acquainted with **LABOR AGE** by reading International Vice-President Robert Fechner's copy. In subscribing now to **LABOR AGE** for himself, he writes:

"I have found much that is of importance and value to every member of organized labor and much that should be studied by all who hold office—in fact you are so frequently exposing the evils that affect our present industrial life, it is a pity that all wage earners could not be made aware of how they are being deceived, and misled from the course that would lead to their betterment."

Our Crusaders will be glad to receive this encouragement to further effort in reaching the workers with our message of **ACTION**.

The Honor Roll this month follows:

CICELY APPELBAUM, Sec'y. to Mrs. Grace B. Klueg and CARA COOK, Librarian, Brookwood, for subscriptions obtained at the Women's Auxiliary Institute.

SYLVIA BLECKER, Secretary, Millinery Hand Workers' Union, No. 43, New York City, for securing subscriptions for active members.

H. H. BROACH, Vice-president, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, for subscriptions sent in for active members of Local No. 3, New York City.

LEONARD CRAIG, member Moulders' Union, Pittsburgh, Pa., for boosting **LABOR AGE** to members of his union and sending in some subscriptions.

JUSTUS EBERT, New York City, Editor of Lithographers' Journal, for space devoted to boosting **LABOR AGE** and for securing readers among lithographers.

FRED HOELSCHER, Secretary-Treasurer, Associated Silk Workers, Paterson, N. J., for securing interest among and subscriptions for active members.

ANNA N. DAVIS, New York City, for fine cooperation and a number of subscriptions.

SAMUEL H. FRIEDMAN, New York City, for editorial cooperation while Managing Editor was in Indianapolis.

JOSEPHINE KACZOR, Salem, Mass., Brookwooder and U. T. W. organizer, for securing interest and subscribers among textile workers.

WILLIAM KARLIN, New York City, Labor attorney, for subscriptions obtained from labor men.

MAX PERLIN, President, Brotherhood of Painters, No. 905, New York City, for securing subscriptions for active members.

ROSE SIMKINS, Dorchester, Mass., Brookwooder and member of International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, for sending in a number of subscriptions.

HAROLD E. STEELE, President American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, for subscriptions secured for active members of Milwaukee branch.

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